

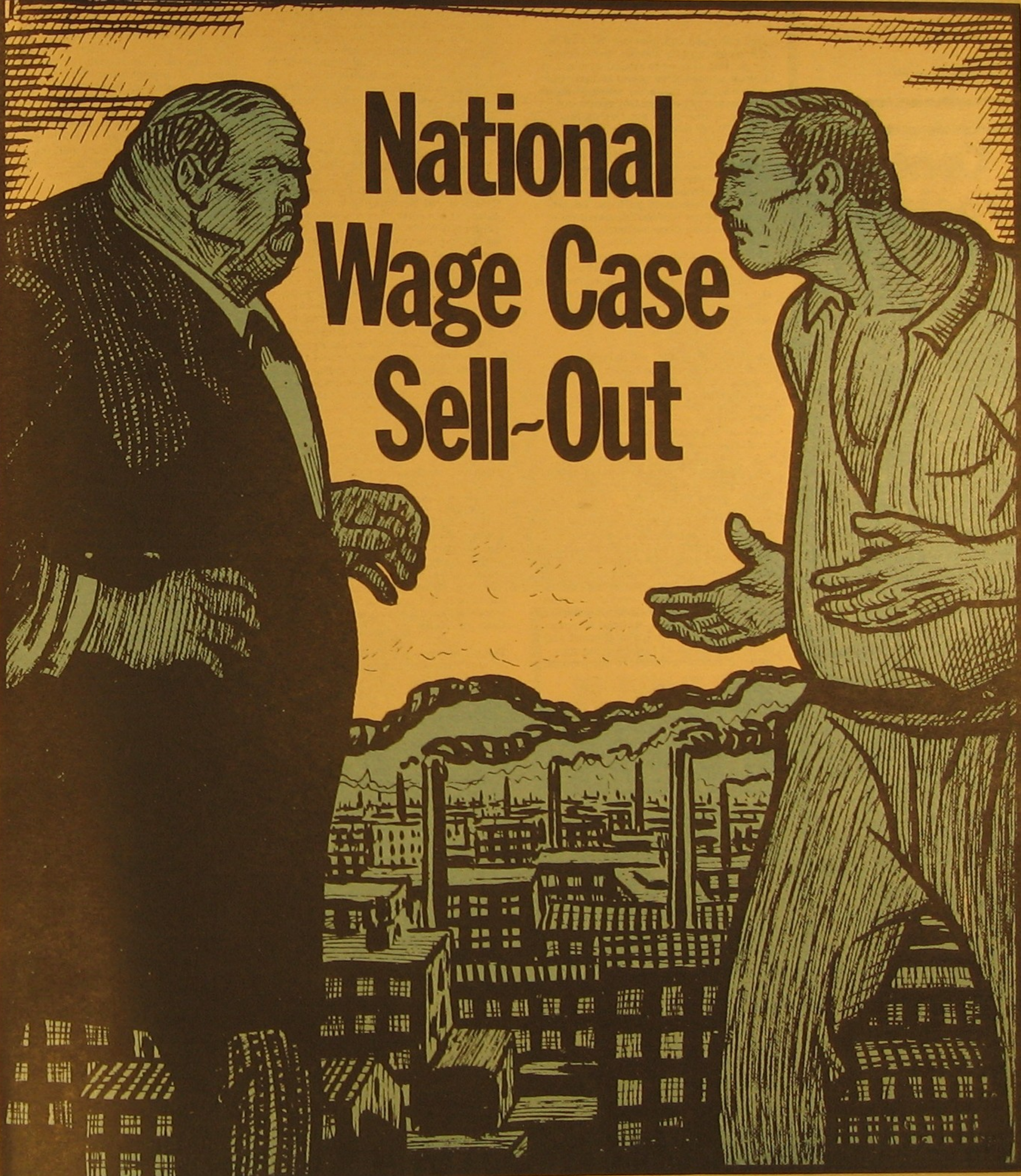
DIRECT ACTION

NO. 20

MAY 22 1972

10 CENTS

A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER



National Wage Case Sell-Out

also in this issue

Metal Unions Amalgamation
Internationalism and the CPA

How Did Stalin Defeat Trotsky?
Coal Miners Fight Clutha
Violence and the Antiwar Movement

DIRECT ACTION

No. 20, May 22, 1972
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 Registered for transmission by post as a periodical category B.

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EDITORIAL 1

THE GREAT NATIONAL WAGE CASE SELL-OUT

The week just ended has witnessed one of the worst betrayals perpetrated on the working class of Australia by its so-called leaders. The Arbitration Commission had just exposed its blatant class bias against workers by awarding a miserable \$2 per week increase in the total wage and \$4.70 increase per week in the minimum wage.

Unchallenged evidence put forward by the unions clearly showed that workers' wages last year were eroded by the bosses' uncontrolled power to raise their prices by 10%, while the result of these outrageous price increases meant a family of four could not live on less than \$70 per week.

So when the ACTU Executive began its quarterly meeting on Monday last, May 15, militant workers were looking to Hawke and his left wing majority to provide the necessary political leadership to win the workers' demands by united working class action.

This was a reasonable expectation as the previous ACTU Executive meeting in February had called on its State Branches, the various Labor Councils, to organise mass meetings to demand the \$12.50 increase and \$70 minimum wage the unions were claiming.

On March 29, 4,000 job delegates crowded Sydney Town Hall to consider a resolution recommended by the right wing Sydney Labor Council. Although moved by the extreme right winger John Ducker and seconded by the notorious Stalinist Pat Clancy, this resolution went so far as to warn that "if a significant wage increase is not quickly given, then a national stoppage of all unions affiliated to the ACTU should be called".

Rank and file militants on the floor pressed for a definite date for this national action, but Clancy's henchmen, Merv MacFarlane, Tom Supple and Stan Sharkey, all of the Socialist Party of Australia (which incidentally supported the invasion of Czechoslovakia) cravenly backed Ducker's vague call for action. Still, a decision for a national stoppage was called for by the Labor Council and the job delegates at that meeting supported the recommendation unanimously.

Five weeks later, when the rotten decision of the Commission was finally handed down to the applause of the capitalist class and its press lackeys, strikes erupted spontaneously in metal shops, on building sites and many other jobs. Even the extreme right wing Secretary of the Shop Assistants Union, B. Egan, said his telephones had been

jammed with calls from delegates in retail establishments, factories and warehouses calling for strike action. This immediate response of militants to an obviously politically motivated wages decision, aimed at undermining the workers' living standards, is to be applauded strongly by all workers and socialists. However, to smash the decision and force the instruments of capitalism, such as the Arbitration Commission, to place the rights and welfare of workers above the profits of big business, would require a massive united political action of the working class led by dedicated socialists.

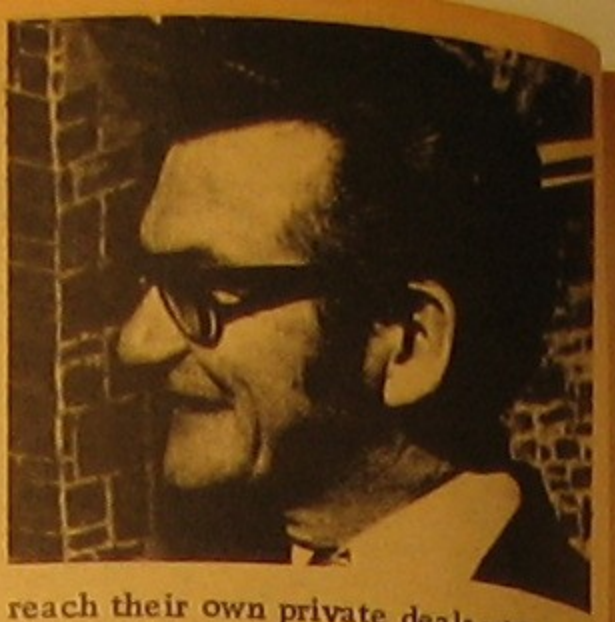
What then was the reaction to the Arbitration Commission's decision by the current leaders of working class organisations? The self-styled "lefts", like Carmichael of the Metal Workers and O'Sullivan of the Building Workers were outraged of course, but did nothing concretely to force the ACTU to organise the national stoppage that was earlier threatened if the full \$12.50 was not awarded.

Hawke said he expected the union movement to react sensibly. He expected the movement would now get "right into the market place" where many unions had gained good wages in collective bargaining. Senior trade union officials in Sydney were reported fearful that widespread strike action over the decision would harm the Labor Party's chances at the next Federal election.

The ACTU Executive meeting therefore quickly buried any talk of a national stoppage, even on the piddling scale of the 1970 protests at the Budget. Instead, Hawke announced that another claim would be served on the Commission (still an independent, unbiased tribunal Bob?) in August; that he would approach the National Employers' Policy Committee directly for a general wage increase (with no strings attached Bob?); and that any union not granted a 9% increase in the last 18 months should immediately make such a demand on their employers.

Thus at one stroke the ACTU denied all responsibility for leading the working class of Australia in the only possible kind of struggle that would be able to force employers to concede what rightfully is owing to the workers who produce all the wealth. This struggle would have to be on the same scale as that waged around the O'Shea case in 1969.

Hawke washes his hands and passes the buck to individual union bureaucrats to



reach their own private deals with individual bosses. The strong may do well; the weak and leaderless will go to the wall; all workers will be no nearer to defeating the system which makes their lives a constant struggle to make ends meet.

Yet even in those areas where the most advanced workers are located - the metal, building and maritime industries - their aggressive, individual actions cannot solve the central problem of this period. The proportion of the value of all goods produced by workers that is going to those workers as wages and salaries is steadily falling. It is now 60% with a few large employers stealing the other 40% as profit. Only a united front struggle of the whole working class can be victorious against this continued assault on living standards. Who can lead it?

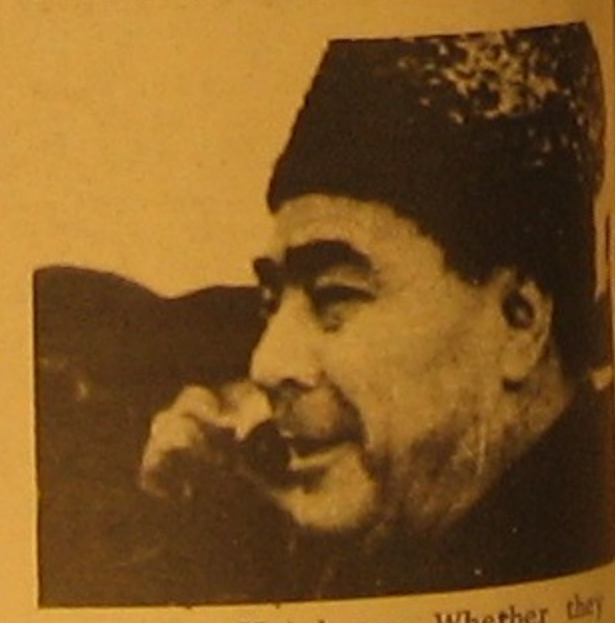
In the interests of electing a Labor government, pledged to a policy of industrial harmony and not one of defending the interests of workers, the ACTU indicated to the militants that it is both unwilling and incapable of providing this leadership.

The role of the coming ALP government foreshadowed by Cameron's industrial programme and Whitlam's appeals to business for support, can only alarm those who work towards a socialist commonwealth.

What is important in this period is for militants to reach a crystal clear understanding of the need to build a revolutionary alternative to the present reformists of the ACTU and ALP on the one hand, and the toothless old hacks of the CPA and SPA on the other. As a preparation to the building of this leadership, militants should lead struggles in the work place around the demands of no redundancies, complete bans on overtime, no productivity deals that result in lay-offs and unemployment, a guaranteed weekly wage for all, and a shorter working week with no loss of pay.

These struggles must go beyond individual factories and link up with those in all industries, so that the basic cause of all the evils of industrial society - the capitalist property relations - can be smashed once and for all.

The question posed now for militants is how to construct this necessary leadership. The Socialist Workers League and Socialist Youth Alliance applaud direct action fought around these demands and offer the fullest possible support in the continuing struggle.



sweepers to Haiphong. Whether they will be any use against the sophisticated mines remains to be seen. There have been reports that China and the Soviet Union were holding talks in Peking on ways to aid the Vietnamese and that more Soviet and Chinese arms were being railed into North Vietnam. We would like to believe this is the beginning of a real united front of workers states to defend the Vietnamese revolution, but all the evidence suggests that is the last thing the bureaucrats have in mind.

In view of the default of the workers states, there is an even greater responsibility thrust on the international anti-war movement. We must build massive internationally coordinated action demanding that Nixon get out of Indo China and allow the Vietnamese to determine their own destinies.

MINERS FIGHT CLUTHA

by Sol Salby

Falling export orders have led to production reduction and dismissals in several industries. Coal mining has been one of the hardest hit. Thus the closure of the South Clifton colliery near Wollongong on the NSW south coast came as no surprise. However the events which followed gave the bourgeoisie quite a surprise. For on this occasion, the miners hit back with a new tactic. Clutha Development, the mine owners, could do whatever they liked, the miners for their part were going to operate the mine. Relying on strong support from miners in other Clutha projects and other unionists in the traditionally militant south coast area, the miners announced their plans: on Monday morning they were going to operate the mine on their own. They based their claim on a statement by Clutha's managing director Mr. S. H. Van Brink who said during the negotiations that the Miners' Federation could have the mine if it wanted to. Immediately the miners' decision was announced a joint meeting was held between Clutha, the Joint Coal Board and the State's Mines Department who were concerned for the "miners' safety".

On Monday morning 8 May about 110 miners arrived for work only to find the electric switch board padlocked. When the manager refused to hand over the key the padlock was cut. Working under "the most stringent safety regulations in Australia" they carried on essential repair work and brought up 130 tons of coal. Over the following two days more coal was brought up by the miners.

In the meantime the company management was becoming progressively more worried by the developments. They consistently informed the media of their efforts in obtaining legal advice against the "trespassers". The miners replied to this by handing over to the company a list of the 110 names of those engaged in the "trespassing" activities and challenged Clutha to prosecute them. Another measure used by the boss was the re-padlocking of the electricity switch board every night. The miners had to cut the padlocks open every morning.

The action of the miners could not have taken place if it wasn't for the strong support they received locally. Waterside workers and other unionists arrived together with the miners every morning

in case of confrontation with the management. Those workers who were retained by Clutha to undertake maintenance operations broke the company's regulations and assisted the miners in production. The 3,700 other miners in the area undertook to pay a special levy to pay their wages until a buyer was found for the coal. Four local ALP Members of Parliament: R. Jackson, L. Kelly, E. Ramsey and G. Petersen spoke at a rally on top of the pit.

By Wednesday Clutha was forced to give in. The settlement terms involve the employment of all workers for a period of at least 14 weeks, preference for the men in obtaining employment in other mines controlled by Clutha and other firms, the coal was to be sold and finally Clutha undertook to surrender or transfer its other leases in the area within a period of six months. The purpose of the latter clause, in the miners' view, was to allow other employers to replace Clutha and thus guarantee their employment.

The miners were as usual robbed of a complete victory by the union bureaucracy. Mr. R. Cram, National Secretary of the Miners' Federation advised the South Clifton miners that Clutha's offer was the best possible one and they should accept it.

The tactic used by the miners, the work-in, is not a new one. (see for example

"Rising Militancy Threatens Union Bureaucrats" by Bill Davis in DIRECT ACTION No. 17, April 17 1972) However the Clutha dispute represents the first victorious (albeit partially victorious) application of this tactic in Australia.

The use of the "work-in" tactic has generated considerable interest and discussion within the labor movement. Some people have elevated the work-in to the status of strategy. They advocate work-ins as a general strategy to defeat unemployment and retrenchments. They fall to see the work-in as a tactic to be considered along with others, such as the conventional strike, sit-ins and occupations and that tactical considerations should decide which method is used. In the case of the South Coast miners a work-in had several advantages. A strike was of course impossible and a sit-in or occupation of an empty mine could hardly have been worthwhile.

Just as dangerous is the opposite error committed by the sectarian group which publishes "Labour Press" in dismissing the work-in off hand. They only see the "working for the boss for nothing" aspect. This falls into an economist trap which suggests that the class struggle is immediately affected by the amount of the bosses profits.



South Clifton miners coming out of the mine after the first day of the work-in

ON VIOLENCE AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

MELBOURNE

BY MILES STUART
 Almost twelve months ago, we had something to say (in Direct Action No. 7) about the role of Dr. J. F. Cairns in the Australian antiwar movement. We shall quote extensively from our editorial in that issue, entitled "Australia: The Pied Piper Returns".

We referred to the influence of the American antiwar movement upon our own, and the fact that different sections of the Australian movement looked to different sections of the American movement for inspiration. At that time, the debate within the American movement was mostly between two sides, and we expressed our sympathy with one of these sides: one side, we thought was right, and one side wrong.

We wrote of "the premature enthusiasm of monotonous leading lights for the initial proposals of the American delegation to the Stockholm conference on Vietnam. The leader of the American delegation, a representative of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), made a grandstanding speech outlining the "American movement's" plans for large antiwar actions on April 30, May 30 and June 30. Nowhere did he mention the mobilisations called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) to be held in Washington and San Francisco on April 24 ...

"In the US, the call by NPAC for massive peaceful demonstrations involving

all sections of society on April 24 met with an incredible response. Nothing more was heard of the original PCPJ proposals. In the face of widespread popular support for April 24, PCPJ was forced, after initially attempting to get an opposition May 8 action off the ground, to offer nominal support to NPAC.

"On April 24, 500,000 people marched in Washington and 300,000 in San Francisco. Similar actions were held in Copenhagen (20,000 people), Montreal, Quebec City, Ottawa, Paris, London, Rome, Lusaka and Beirut.

"We are all aware of the final episode in the Washington story. On May Day at the instigation of the PCPJ and various other "people's representatives", 15,000 people set out to "stop the government". No one was really surprised when they didn't. Despite the valiant assault of Dr. Spock and 500 followers on a key strategic bridge and other acts of mock heroism, business went on as usual, and 10,500 people went to jail, contributing something like \$105,000 to the US Treasury.

"Space does not allow a comprehensive comparison of the PCPJ and NPAC strategies. One important yardstick can, however, be applied briefly: the people, 800,000 of them marched on April 24 and 15,000 on May Day. One action sought to involve the people, the other to perform for the people.

"As we go to press, we learn of the return to Australia of Dr. J. F. Cairns from a World Peace Council meeting in Budapest, and of the proposals by the Victorian

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	275	284	500

ting our special Vietnam issue to as wide an audience as possible. Our special issue was only eight pages and this caused a little confusion. One wit remarked that, like the bourgeois daily papers in Sydney, we had a reduced issue due to the printers' strike. Unfortunately our means do not run to a daily paper at this stage so we weren't affected.

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FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

(CONTINUED ON P.4)

ANTIWAR

(continued from p. 3)
Moratorium Campaign (or are they merely from Dr. Cairns?) for a "five stage plan to blockade the city of Melbourne" over the next month. In an interview on ABC television, Dr. Cairns referred to the inspiration offered by the May Day actions in Washington, where 15,000 people set out to stop the Government of the United States.

"Some people never learn".

Just twelve months ago, Dr. Jim Cairns stepped off the plane from Stockholm and announced to the eager press his amazing plans to blockade the city of Melbourne. On Monday May 15 of this year, the press reported a statement of Dr. Cairns to the effect that he considered that the events in Melbourne on Friday May 12 had "set the antiwar movement back five years."

Dr. Cairns was referring to incidents where demonstrators clashed with police on the streets of Melbourne. He spoke of the violence of the demonstrators, without of course, referring to his own opportunist role over the years, in supporting this sort of ultra left adventurism; of blockades and confrontations with a state far more powerful and violent, and willing to use its power and violence, than any shock force Dr. Cairns or anyone else could ever muster on the streets at this time. He did not refer to his previous espousal of such tactics wherein he and his colleagues were responsible for fostering the illusion that somehow, at this present stage, the power of the people in the streets was sufficient to bring the city to a standstill, or maybe beat the cops at their own game, or maybe defeat imperialism by throwing a few rocks at such strategic buildings as the offices of Pan American Airways.

Let us make ourselves clear on the question of violence. We don't abide by any great metaphysical principle when we discuss the use of violence against a state which has a total monopoly of the means of violence in this epoch. In our consideration of the use of violence against the forces of the state, we analyse the tactical effectiveness of such violence. If we thought that there was no other way of defending the Vietnamese revolution than by the use of violence, then we would advocate it. But we believe that at this stage of the development of the Australian anti-war movement and its relationship to the forces of the state, the best we can do to defend the Vietnamese revolution is to encourage the mobilisation of the greatest numbers of people on the streets to bring pressure on the government to end its complicity in the war, and to make it known to the United States government that Australia will not support any further acts of aggression in Indochina.

This is the course of action that we have continually advocated over the last few years, and its effectiveness has been proven by the Australian government's withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, and its unwillingness to commit any more troops even when imperialism is suffering a very great crisis as a result of the latest offensive by the liberation forces.

It is obvious then, that this objective is hampered by the self-indulgent tactics of certain sections of the left: these tactics place a greater emphasis on fighting the police than mobilising the largest possible numbers, because it is a fact of life that many Australian people - workers and students - although strongly against the war, are not prepared to participate in demonstrations which culminate in pointless charges at police lines. We have opposed the adventurist tactics of the cop-fighters and window-smashers whenever they have appeared, and our opposition has sometimes resulted in our comrades receiving some of the blows of the ultra-leftists. But there is one thing we have not done: we have never sought to voice this opposition through the voice of the enemy: the media of the capitalist state. We would not do this because despite the differences of opinion within the left, we believe that all the forces of the left should unite in the face of the common enemy - capitalism.

We therefore reserve our right to make criticisms of what we consider are incorrect tactics of the left whenever they occur, but we will make these criticisms within the left and no further.

We cannot be certain of the reason for Dr. J. F. Cairns' lamentable performance on the capitalist media last week, but we can suggest that if Dr. Cairns is not

a fool, then he is not of the left, and that his crude attempt to retrieve the situation from the disaster of his making later in the week displays this gentleman's serious limitations insofar as the antiwar movement is concerned.

It is a serious situation indeed when the fortunes of the Victorian antiwar movement are at the mercy of a man whose political interests are becoming increasingly out of accord with the interests of that movement.

In an amazing stroke of wisdom several days after his initial attack on the Moratorium, Dr. Cairns made an about-face and declared that he would lead the demonstration scheduled for Friday, May 19.

There can be no doubt that Dr. Cairns' change of mind had some effect on the success of Friday's march, but the excellent response could more rightly be attributed to a number of causes, one of which was probably the reaction to Dr. Cairns' first statement, and a resolve to prove him wrong.

As it happened, 15,000 people marched from the Treasury Gardens down Collins and Elizabeth Streets to a sidown in Bourke Street. Speakers at the rally included Dave Evans from Monash University and Roger Wilson from the Seamen's Union. The people then marched to Parliament House where Dr. Cairns and Ted Bull from the Waterside Workers' Federation addressed the crowd. There was a considerable emphasis on non-violence throughout the demonstration. The large and authoritative attendance of trade unions and ALP leaders was reminiscent of the first Moratorium in May 1970.

All the signs are good: it takes a serious escalation by Richard Nixon and an hysterical attack by the capitalist press and the police to bring the movement to its senses, but at least they arrived.

ADELAIDE

BY COL MAYNARD

Nixon's latest escalation of US aggression in Indochina has supplied the objective conditions for a revitalization of the anti-war movement in Adelaide as well as for the rest of Australia. This was demonstrated by the marches and rallies that took place in the streets of Adelaide on Wednesday, May 10th and Friday, May 12th. The press reports stated that 1500 people marched on Wednesday and 800 on Friday. These are indeed impressive numbers considering that organisation and publicity for the marches was almost nil.

However, the tactics carried out by members and sympathizers of Worker Student Alliance at both demonstrations in Adelaide go completely against any concept of winning new recruits to the anti-war movement. Their conduct during the marches, particularly the one on Friday, went a long way towards isolating the left wing from the mainstream of anti-war opinion and isolating the anti-war movement from the mass of the Australian population.

The Wednesday march started with a mass meeting at Adelaide University, where a motion condemning Nixon's latest efforts and calling on the workers states to respond with a united effort in defending the Vietnamese revolution, was passed. The march proceeded through the main streets of the city with the tone of the march very militant and spirited. This mood however, quickly dwindled away, when the march seemed to go on and on with no end in sight, rambling aimlessly through the backstreets. Finally, at the Combined Services Recruiting Office, for those who see confrontation with the police as the main object of the anti-war movement, the highlight of the demonstration came, when crackers and smoke bombs were thrown. Some misfired, and turned into fire bombs falling among demonstrators and police alike. When the police moved in and made arrests, the Maoists called on the marchers to stay and battle it out with the cops. The marchers, however, had another mind and eventually reformatted at the bottom of the street and moved off towards campus. Later that afternoon, another demonstration was held outside police headquarters where more arrests were made, bringing the day's total to 17.

That night a public meeting was held to organize future actions. The Maoists stacked it to capacity and mechanically elected their own committee to plan their own type of march for Friday. There was

even talk of splitting up into six different marches to "attack" different places. On Friday however, only one march took place. Whether it was due to lack of participants or due to lack of places to attack, one can only guess, as the whole organization including the route of the march was a secret known only to the Maoist committee. When two members of SYA approached the organizers at the rally in Victoria Square before the march, requesting to put forward a motion defining the route of the march, they were told that it would "only confuse the marchers" to do so. When they insisted on their democratic right to address the crowd with propositions regarding the march, they were surrounded by a group of thugs, most of whom were members of the organizing committee, who stamped on their feet, pushed fists into their faces and threatened that if they tried to get near the microphone, they would be "dropped".

The crowd was then led off down through a number of back alleys, and side streets until they arrived outside the offices of IBM. Here the brave "anti-imperialist fighters" of WSA threw rocks and smoke bombs through the windows under the cover of darkness and 800 innocent bystanders that they made sure were between them and the police. At this stage about half the crowd left and the march proceeded on a meandering course through the streets of Adelaide, stopping every now and then for a few frustrated individuals to throw firecrackers at the police and get arrested. The whole affair ended in a self-satisfying orgy of destruction at the Torrens Army Depot, where a few dozen people smashed the windows of the building along with the windows of cars that happened to be parked nearby.

The whole event served the purpose of diverting attention from the war, which until then had been the headline feature of the mass media, with the bias against Nixon. Now it was a question of "law and order" with the bias decidedly against the anti-war movement.

Whatever the setbacks caused to the anti-war movement in Adelaide by the ultra-left antics of the local Maoists, we must see our task now, more than ever before, as being the building of as large and broad a mass movement as possible around the demand of all foreign troops, equipment and support out of Indo China now. We must seek to unite all groups and individuals who agree with that demand and demonstrate our collective opposition to the war in mass rallies and marches. The only way this can be done is for all decision making within the movement to be done democratically with open discussion free from any intimidation. The people who organized the action on May 12th chose to conspire amongst themselves, disallowing any discussion on the nature and route of the march by those who were participating. They did a great deal of harm to the anti-war movement, alienating a lot of people who could be brought into continued anti-war activity. Let all



Melbourne demonstrators gather in City Square May 12.

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those who think they have the correct ideas on how to build the anti-war movement, put them forward to the people who march and let them decide.

SYDNEY

BY ROD WEBB

The Sydney anti-war movement is not without its labour poseurs either, although they have never been in quite a position of influence as has Dr. Cairns.

This different type of influence can be explained mainly by the lack of a strong left force within the ALP in New South Wales. In Victoria the strong formation around the Socialist Left has resulted in a much greater participation on the part of trade unions at the leadership and rank and file level. Such a situation has resulted in the response to this participation by ALP officials and parliamentarians like Hartley and Crawford through to Cairns and Bryant and even - at times - Holding. In NSW, the absence of a strong union based Socialist Left and the presence of a piss-weak "Left Wing" Steering Committee has had a corresponding response in the absence of any strong participation from union leaders, ALP officials or parliamentarians.

Such a situation produces mixed benefits. While it is true that the NSW anti-war movement is consequently less vulnerable to betrayal according to whichever wind is blowing through the corridors of power, it is also obvious that the working class component of demonstrations is nowhere near the proportion it is in Melbourne. It is no use saying that we can be thankful that the so-called labour leaders stay away from the movement, because if the movement is a viable and democratic one, it can act as a positive mass pressure upon these leaders: it is much harder for union bureaucrats to betray the masses in front of the masses than from behind closed doors. The mass movement should have nothing to fear from the participation of the bureaucrats. Rather, they should be encouraged into its ranks, because the mass movement is the best place to expose their limitations.

The mass rally in Sydney on May 12 produced such a result. The May 13 edition of "The Sydney Morning Herald" carried a report of a statement by Mr. Bill Rigby, Chairman of the Trade Union Peace Committee, that he wished to "publicly dissociate himself and the Trade Union Peace Committee from the violence which had occurred yesterday."

This Trade Union Peace Committee (TUPC) has had a rather chequered history. Its existence has been rather ephemeral over the past few years, and its membership and leadership even smaller. Its latest revival occurred at about the same time that the Socialist Party of Australia was formed, although the loose and undefined grouping presently

constituting itself as the TUPC has been around in name or otherwise for quite a number of years. Its greatest eclipse occurred during the height of the Moratoriums of 1970-71, when the movement was too large to allow the back room style of "peace" activity any room for manoeuvre. During that period, trade union activity was directed through a more democratic Moratorium Trade Union Committee which encouraged participation of rank and file unionists, a situation always guaranteed to raise the hackles of any TUPC-SPA heavy: they rather resented having to take their place in the movement alongside all the non-bureaucratic activists.

The great majority of the leaders of the TUPC are either members of, or associated with, the Socialist Party of Australia, the pro-Moscow group that broke away from the Communist Party of Australia, or amongst the leadership of the "Left-Wing" Steering Committee in the NSW Branch of the ALP. The political positions the TUPC reflects are therefore generally bureaucratic and conservative, and quite hostile to independent mass action. As we said, such positions were totally unacceptable to the Moratorium at its height, but with the decline of the Moratorium last year the TUPC began to find more room to manoeuvre along the lines of the old days. The TUPC found itself in a good bargaining position when the proposals were mooted for a demonstration against Nixon's blockade. This bargaining power was not without its contradictions however, because Moscow's lack of response to Nixon made the TUPC extremely vulnerable on the political level. In exchange for consideration by the May 12 organising committee with regard to rally schedule and speakers' rights, etc, the TUPC promised, initially, to encourage about forty unions to take strike action on the day of the demonstration. They demanded that the organising committee discourage any sort of a march, and indicated that if any "violence" occurred on the part of the "students" then they would pull out of the demonstration. On the matter of a march, the organising committee had no jurisdiction, because it was inevitable that a march would take place from Sydney University. On the matter of violence, the organising committee pointed out that while every precaution would be taken, it was impossible to guarantee the "good conduct" of thousands of demonstrators.

Initially, the TUPC planned to hold a rally outside the US Consulate at 1.00pm and close before the Sydney University march arrived. This ridiculous proposal was somehow avoided, and the rally was finally scheduled to commence at 1.00pm and conclude at about 6.00pm if the crowds warranted it. Clancy and his mates would organise a deputation to visit the Consul-General and tell him that they wanted peace. The march from Sydney University was expected to arrive by about 1.30pm.

On the Thursday night before the demonstration, the SPA really triumphed. At the regular meeting of the Labour Council of NSW, one of the SPA leaders, Tom McDonald, seconded a motion of Ralph Marsh, the right-wing Secretary of the Labour Council, which condemned the Nixon blockade, and in essence called upon both sides to stop the fighting in Vietnam! The resolution also deliberately excluded the possibility of the Labour Council sponsoring any action around the issue.

On the Friday, the NSW Police Department gave the TUPC the opportunity it had been waiting for. The cops reneged on an undertaking with the organisers of the march from Sydney University to allow the march to proceed along the roadway. They pushed and kicked the 1,500 marchers onto the footpaths and made several arrests. This doublecross riled the students and paved the way for what was to come after the rally.

The Sydney University March joined the 3,500 rally in Pitt Street at about 2.00pm. Laurie Carmichael interrupted his speech to welcome the march and to make it known to all those assembled that the police had pulled a doublecross and roughed up the march. A subsequent speaker from Sydney University, Ian Davis, also made this point loud and clear: loud enough for even Mr. Rigby and his colleagues, who were positioned right alongside the platform, to hear.

The rally passed without incident. Considerably less than the promised 40 unions had taken strike action. Speakers included Mavis Robertson (CPA), Pat Clancy (SPA, BWIU and ACTU), Bill Brown (SPA), Jim Percy (SWL - Editor, Direct Action) and Jaya Vithana (form

er Secretary of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee in Britain and a member of the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International). At about 2.30pm, a select little delegation went off to visit the Consul-General. When Clancy returned with this delegation, the union contingent of demonstrators (not the officials) received its marching orders leaving a sizeable and noticeable gap in the ranks of the rally. Perhaps Comrade Clancy considered that his workers had had enough close contact with those dirty students for one day.

From about 3.00pm onwards, Clancy and his mates began pushing for a closure of the rally. Clancy had been chatting with the cops, who were getting a bit restless listening to all this antiwar stuff, and wanted everyone to shove off. Or maybe Clancy wanted the rally closed because of all the nasty things that were being said about the Soviet Union for not doing more to help Vietnam and for inviting Nixon to Moscow. One speaker after another blasted the workers' states and received overwhelming support from the people. By contrast, Brown and Clancy appeared really pathetic, like age-old relics of history, so it was understandable that they wanted to stop the show.

Clancy proposed to the chairman that they tell the people to all go home. At this time there were about 3,000 people in Pitt Street. Bill Waters, from Sydney University, had another proposal. He suggested that he put to the people that they march down to Martin Plaza and visit the offices of Pan Am. Clancy finally withdrew his suggestion, and said that if the people wanted a march then he would not oppose them, although he wouldn't support them either.

Waters' suggestion was put to the rally and received majority support. It would have been a good idea if it had been supported by the trade union leaders, because the cops would have had second thoughts about busting a march which had trade union leaders at its head.

But Clancy and his mates would have nothing to do with it, and the police charged as soon as the march began moving towards Martin Plaza. This riled the marchers even more, particularly after the earlier police doublecross, and several scuffles broke out, with the police making many arrests. The march then broke up into several small groups and wandered round the city, leaving the police with a beautiful opportunity to make more arrests as they followed them around.

As for the violence, there was plenty from the police, as usual. From the other side, a few rocks were thrown (at Hyde Park) and one smoke bomb and one plastic bucket flew through the air at one stage.

On the strength of these incidents, the Trade Union Committee took the opportunity to issue their statement to the capitalist press, thus providing the state apparatus with its chance to ignore the peaceful aspects of the rally and wage an all-out publicity campaign against "student violence". With Rigby and Clancy on your side, who needs enemies?

The Trade Union Peace Committee has now got the antiwar movement where it wants it. The antiwar movement is always very conscious of the necessity to broaden the working class composition of marches and rallies. If they want the seal of approval from the TUPC for another action, they will obviously have to make great concessions to people like Rigby and Clancy, as they have done in the past, except that the ransom will probably be higher next time.

Such a situation should not be tolerated by the movement. It has long been obvious that the Stalinist trade union leaders have always received consideration in greater proportion to the actual numbers of marchers they have ever managed to muster. The line must be drawn somewhere. At this point in time, it is unlikely that the TUPC will feel inclined to support another action, not because of the violence which they are largely invented, but because they are trade union bureaucrats and supporters of betrayals and tea parties in Moscow.

Whilst every effort must be made to seek the participation of the so-called leaders of the labour movement, it seems that now is the time for a greater effort in the direction of the rank and file. If the movement continues to rebuild, Clancy and Co will have to rejoin the movement on the movement's terms.

And that's how it should be all the time.

IN BRIEF

ESSO-BHP PROTECT THEIR RIGHT TO DESTROY THE ENVIRONMENT

Following the refusal of the Victorian government and Esso - BHP to accede to the wishes of 12 suburban councils (representing 500,000 people) who oppose the proposal to build an ethane gas pipeline under Port Phillip Bay, conservationists have been forced to sabotage equipment engaged on the project. Acid has been poured into the fuel tanks of expensive machinery and a barge being fitted to lay the pipe has also been sabotaged. The company contracted to lay the pipe, Australian Pipeline Constructors, has responded by employing guards with shotguns and dogs to protect the equipment. Apparently ESSO - BHP lack confidence in the ability of their "Public Relations" men to convince people that it is worth destroying all marine life in the bay in order to save them the expense of building their pipe elsewhere.

The ethane gas pipe has met with widespread opposition since plans for its construction were first announced some years ago. Victoria's twenty six left wing unions have boycotted the project and are confident that the scheme cannot be completed until their boycott is lifted. APC and Esso-BHP have attempted to defy the boycott by importing personnel experienced in dealing with such industrial action in the United States.

NATIONALISM OR MARXISM?

Melbourne's Maoists, in adhering to their adage that "US imperialism is the number one enemy of the Australian people", having been patriotically peering around for Yankee profiteers, on catching one, a sprig of wattle is thrust into its face causing a sneezing attack, then the bogey is beaten over the head with a Chiko roll. Forgotten, of course, is the imperialism of Britain, Japan, Canada (which now threatens our hall-owed meat pie with its "Big Ben"), etc.

Here is a remarkable quote from one of the latest editions of Red Moat (Vol 5, No. 6), the newsletter of the La Trobe Worker-Student Alliance: "Fergus (Robinson) is in gaol because he is an active cadre in the national struggle for an independent Australia. This struggle is being waged by a broad cross-section of the Australian populace - workers, students, working people, and patriotic local capitalists."

Now have any "patriotic local capitalists" of this remarkable united front, such as Gordon Barton or John Gorton, yet been gaol'd? Are they also part of this active cadre?

Clearly the Maoists still suffer from social chauvinism, denying the Marxist axiom that capitalism and imperialism must be fought on a class basis. To prop up one bourgeoisie against another is blatant class collaborationism. Remember the fearful results of this practice in China (1926-28), Indonesia (1965), Sudan (1971), and now Ceylon, where so far over 10,000 have been murdered, and about 25,000 are "missing", held in detention camps as a result of the Popular Front's smashing of left tendencies. If our Maoist reader is becoming bored perhaps a quote from Lenin (remember him?) will assist:

"Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same political content, namely, class collaboration, repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, repudiation of revolutionary action, unconditional acceptance of bourgeois legality, confidence in the bourgeoisie and lack of confidence in the proletariat." (Lenin, Against Revisionism, in Defence of Marxism, P. 110.)

RACISM IN QUEENSLAND

White residents of the town of Redlynch in North Queensland have been attempting to force members of the Tjabakai tribe living on the outskirts of the town to move away. They have raised the usual racist arguments about aborigines being a health hazard, etc.

The Tjabakai, like black people in most parts of this country are forced, through discrimination by employers to live in poverty, usually unemployed or at best with lowly paid unskilled

jobs. The camp in which the blacks are forced to live (because of economic pressures and social discrimination) is a squalid, with only one water tap to serve the whole tribe.

A spokesman for the blacks, Gilbin Banning has said that the whites do not like the fact that the Tjabakai do not engage in European style marriages, and whites generally dislike the blacks because of their colour.

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY COUNCIL HAS STUDENTS GAOLED

Following several recent occupations of the La Trobe University administration building, a total of 26 students were expelled from the university, fines totalling \$3,175 have been imposed, and the University Council has imposed restrictions on areas in which student funds may be spent. Several students have also been banned from entering the campus. As a result of their ignoring this ban Fergus Robinson and Brian Pola have been gaol'd until they apologise for their contempt of court, or until the University Council withdraws the writs of attachment under which Pola and Robinson have been gaol'd. If they refuse to apologise the two students could be held for up to 6 years.

The majority of students at La Trobe favour the release of Pola and Robinson and are opposed to other disciplinary actions which have been taken against students involved in the occupations.

In the past mass campaigns at La Trobe have forced the administration to waive expulsions, this time the council is attempting to crush student dissent on the campus. Only united action by all elements opposed to the Council's disciplinary actions and dedicated to protecting the right of political activists to enter the campus will defeat the council's attack on student rights.

BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER VICTIMISED

Even in periods of relative prosperity black people in this country are seldom able to rise above a condition of poverty. Now, in a period of economic downturn for capitalism, blacks are among the first to suffer from the increases in unemployment and the cuts in social services.

Since the onset of the downturn, and especially during the early months of this year, hundreds of young blacks have flooded into Brisbane seeking work and cheap accommodation. As a result of the shortage of cheap accommodation available to blacks and the refusal of the government to make available funds for the building of hostels, some young blacks have been living in offices once used by the aboriginal Tribal Council, but now vacant.

As a result of this, an aboriginal civil rights leader Pastor Don Brady has been charged with breaches of the Brisbane Town Planning Act. He was charged not because he owned the building or because he was the registered lessee of the premises (he's not), but because he is a well known leader of the Tribal Council. He ignored the summons as a matter of principle and was fined \$15 with \$8.50 costs. He refused to pay and was prepared to go to gaol over the matter, then Liberal Party parliamentarian Neville Bonner paid the fine and costs.

Brady had said that he did not want the fine paid and had made the following statement: "I will refuse to eat or work while I am in gaol, and because this matter is a racist one, I'm appealing to all the aboriginals I've helped in the past to stage demonstrations during the time I am in gaol."

Bonner insists that his motive in paying was not political. He's not even a little bit uncomfortable about being a member of a racist party.

IMPARTIAL

T. Ludeke has recently been appointed Deputy President of the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission. Until his appointment he was representing the Sydney newspaper companies in their current dispute with the printers.

WHY NIXON DID IT BY ALLEN MYERS

Why did Nixon do it? In his May 8 speech, the president of the United States said that he had issued his orders in the interest of achieving "peace". In reality he was deliberately running the risk of precipitating World War III.

That was the plain meaning of his decision to mine all the harbors of North Vietnam, to bomb all the supply lines—both rail and road—up to the border of China, and to confront the Soviet government with an ultimatum to completely abandon Hanoi and the National Liberation Front.

Even as Nixon spoke to the American public and the world, his orders were being carried out.

U.S. planes dropped mines, set to become activated in three days, at strategic points along the entire coast of North Vietnam. Massive bombing forays were carried out over broad reaches in North Vietnam.

In past escalations of the war, Nixon has usually left a face-saving avenue of retreat in case the response from Peking and Moscow or the U.S. public proved to be more vigorous than the Pentagon strategists calculated. Invasions and bombing raids were described as "of limited duration," permitting Nixon to pull back when the likelihood of political loss began to outweigh the possibility of military gain. This time Nixon left no such escape hatch.

Nixon's decision to escalate the war to a new, qualitatively more dangerous level is a product of political desperation. His reasoning is self-apparent.

1. The war issue has emerged as the key issue during an election year in which his incumbency in the White House is at stake. He is faced with the choice of admitting defeat in Vietnam and immediately withdrawing all the U.S. armed forces or of achieving victory through a military miracle. Nixon decided that it was a lesser evil to stake everything on coming up with a miracle.

2. Nixon was elected on the promise of ending the war in Vietnam. "I have a plan," he said. The plan turned out to be "Vietnamization." In reality this was his answer to the enormous pressure exerted by the antiwar movement both nationally and internationally. By successive withdrawals of ground troops, he hoped to keep the opposition to the war at a low level until after the election. The policy of "Vietnamization" proved bankrupt in face of the offensive launched under General Giap.

Instead of recognizing the utter failure and collapse of "Vietnamization," Nixon decided to "re-Americanize" the war.

3. The failure of "Vietnamization" shows that the base of the Saigon regime is completely eaten away. It would collapse at once with an American withdrawal. By the same evidence, the National Liberation Front has won the battle for the "hearts and minds" of the population in South Vietnam.

Nixon refuses to admit this because of what it would do to his campaign for reelection. He hopes to cover up the political reality by escalating the war, using the pretext of an "invasion" of North Vietnamese troops in the civil war.

4. A more basic reason for Nixon's course, as he himself has explained, is the effect of a victory of the National Liberation Front throughout the colonial world. While the "domino" theory to which he appeals has been discredited, it nevertheless remains true that an American withdrawal would give fresh encouragement to anti-imperialist movements on all continents.

5. Perhaps the strongest reason for Nixon's desperate effort to hang on in Indochina is the vast natural resources of this area. Imperialist France fought tooth and nail to hang on to them. As the inheritor of the French empire, U.S. imperialism is fighting even more ferociously for them. It should be added that since 1965, the international oil cartels have discovered that Indochina has oil resources that are even greater than those of the

Middle East.

With the loss of Quangtri May 1, Richard Nixon was put on the spot as never before in the three and a half years during which he has directed the Indochina war for American imperialism. The obvious failure of "Vietnamization" immediately created prospects of new escalations. "Options" mentioned in the press included intensified air raids on North Vietnam, the reintroduction of U.S. ground troops in the South, and even the possibility of a landing on the coast of North Vietnam.

Speaking May 7 at ceremonies marking the eighteenth anniversary of the Vietnamese victory over the French at Dienbienphu, North Vietnamese Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap predicted the defeat of U.S. imperialism as well:

The Vietnamese people have defeated the neocolonial invasion war of the Eisenhower administration. We have defeated the special war of the Kennedy administration. We have defeated the partial war and destructive war of escalation of the Johnson administration. We are now defeating and definitely will defeat completely the war of Nixon—defeat completely all the adventurous and cruel escalations of the United States imperialists."

Since March 6, the total number of U.S. warplanes in the Indochina theater has more than doubled. The May 6 New York Times reported that the number of B-52s has gone from 80 to 140, and the number of fighter-bombers from 400 to 900. Where there were previously three aircraft carriers, there are now six, and the number of men aboard the carriers and other ships in the Tonkin Gulf has jumped from 15,000 to 41,000.

Nixon laid the diplomatic basis for new escalations by once again calling off the Paris talks at the session of May 4. Another factor in this decision must have been the insecurity created in Saigon by reports that secret negotiations were already concerned with the question of replacing Nguyen Van Thieu.

On May 1, Nixon began preparing U.S. public opinion for the bombing of the dikes in North Vietnam, an action that would cause widespread flooding and possibly thousands of civilian deaths. Speaking to a group of business men in Texas, Nixon called the dikes "a strategic target and indirectly a military target," and added: "... as far as the targets in North Vietnam are concerned, we are prepared to use our military and naval strength against military targets throughout North Viet-

nam, and we believe that the North Vietnamese are taking a very great risk if they continue their offensive in the South."

At a NATO meeting in Brussels May 5, Secretary of State William Rogers added similar threats of bombing of civilian areas.

Nixon—and Johnson before him—has never been concerned about the civilian casualties caused by the bombing of Indochina, except for the world-wide revulsion created by such raids. But the threat to drop even the pretense of restricting bombing to military targets was clearly designed to prepare the way for a massive escalation of the air war.

Rogers used the same NATO meeting to renew publicly Nixon's campaign to pressure the Soviet bureaucrats into reducing the material aid provided to North Vietnam. Hopes for success in this campaign must have been greatly increased by the Kremlin's criminal inaction after the April 16 raids.

An article by William Beecher in the May 3 New York Times revealed for the first time that a Soviet freighter in Haiphong harbor had been sunk during those raids. It had previously been reported only that four Soviet ships had been damaged. Rather than respond to Nixon's attacks by increasing Hanoi's defenses and warning that it would defend Soviet ships, the bureaucracy attempted to conceal the sinking of the freighter.

Such appeasement simply encourages Nixon to escalate further. In the May 7 New York Times, May Frankel described some of the "options" open to Nixon. These include "the systematic destruction of North Vietnam's populated regions," an invasion of North Vietnam by U.S. marines, and deliberate attacks on Soviet freighters and the mining or blockade of Haiphong harbor.

Frankel described these moves as "last-ditch options," for use in case "Hanoi's armies cannot be stopped from carving up South Vietnam and destroying Saigon's forces." But in many parts of South Vietnam, Thieu's army was busy destroying itself in panicked flight and large-scale desertion.

In the May 3 New York Times, Sydney H. Schanberg described the flight of the puppet army troops from Quangtri:

"Thousands of panicking South Vietnamese soldiers—most of whom did not appear to have made much contact with the advancing North Viet-

namese—fled in confusion from Quangtri Province today (May 2), streaming south down Route 1 like a rabble out of control.

"Commandeering civilian vehicles at rifle point, feigning nonexistent injuries, carrying away C rations but not their ammunition, and hurling rocks at Western news photographers taking pictures of their flight, the Government troops of the Third Infantry Division ran from the fighting in one of the biggest retreats of the war.

"No one tried to stop them; their officers were running too."

"Many of the retreating troops," Schanberg added, "are not even stopping in Hue, which is about 40 miles south of Quangtri, but are continuing on, taking their rifles, artillery pieces, tanks and armored cars with them."

On the night of May 2, those troops who did stop in Hue burned down the city's central market. Schanberg reported that they had engaged in "a wild and drunken gunfight" with a unit of Thieu's marines.

The situation as seen from Washington was sufficiently serious for the Nixon administration to raise publicly the idea of sending in U.S. marines. There are presently about 5,000 marines on ships in the Gulf of Tonkin. On May 5, Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedman suggested that they might be used -- to "protect withdrawing American forces," of course.

Despite the Nixon administration's propaganda about Soviet assistance to the Vietnamese freedom fighters, it is obvious that the rout of Thieu's army is not due to its being outclassed in weaponry, as the New York Times admitted in a May 7 editorial:

"Present official efforts to explain the South Vietnamese setbacks in terms of the North's unexpected strength in armor and artillery serve only to perpetuate a policy of self-deception. Both of the opposing military forces have been equipped by military superpowers, and the South is, in addition, supported by American air and naval strength. One crucial difference is leadership: another is in the will to fight."

Writing from Saigon in the April 29

"... it is now apparent that the conventional nature of the offensive has been very much exaggerated. For a start, if Hanoi really did throw its troops out into the open to face the tender mercies of American airstrikes, as the (Saigon) Government claims, the offensive could not have continued as long as it has. Moreover, enormous publicity has been given to the destruction of large numbers of North Vietnamese tanks. Yet several Vietnamese officers who have come in from the field claim that many if not most of the tanks used by the other side are American models, presumably captured over the past two years in Cambodia and Laos. One lieutenant-colonel even said many of the 'tanks' have been revealed as jeeps camouflaged with cardboard to look like the real thing."

It appears that throughout south Vietnam the puppet army is being decimated as much by desertion as by actual battles. Officers and enlisted men both are showing an understandable refusal to die for Thieu and Nixon.

In a series of articles in the May 2-4 New York Times, Craig R. Whitney described the situation in Binh Dinh Province. Since the abandonment of the town of Hoaian on April 19, the Saigon army's 40th Regiment, normally consisting of 3,000 men, had been reduced to one-fourth of its strength. About 30 percent of the unit was listed as casualties, and more than 40 percent as deserters. Whitney noted the "astonishment" of an American "adviser," who said, "When the chips were down the district chief went off in a jeep with his refrigerator along with the commander of the 40th Regiment."

"Much the same thing happened north of Kontum on April 24," Whitney added, "when North Vietnamese troops drove thousands of soldiers from the 22nd Division headquarters at Tancaun with little resistance. The division commander, Col. Le Duc Dat, was believed killed or captured, and an authoritative American source said he turned up today (May 3) at his home in Saigon."

A Saigon government official in the province gave Whitney the following explanation of the liberation forces' successes:

"When the Communists were here before, from 1945 to 1954, the people didn't have much to eat or good clothes on their backs but morally they were happy, because the Communists brought justice to this land for 10 years, not the corruption we have here now."

Some of the more important gains of the liberation forces have been in small actions rather than in the well-publicized battles. Peter Osnos reported in the May 3 Washington Post:

"In the field, many advisers are even more discouraged watching the work of years of pacification, as well as military training, wiped out in a matter of weeks. This kind of erosion is evidently taking place not only where the big celebrated battles are being fought, but also in the quieter provinces, where the toll is in outposts instead of regimental bases."

Diane Jones reported in the April 29 Far Eastern Economic Review from Quangnai Province that "practically the entire province is under NLF control" although there have been no major battles in the area.

The liberated areas include the site of the 1968 Mylai massacre. On April 17, Jones wrote, the Saigon regime's planes bombed the resettlement camp where survivors of the massacre had been living.

Jones saw the political support being won by the NLF as perhaps the most important aspect of the liberation forces' offensive:

"It may well be that the real significance of the present communist drive is not in the big battles at Dong Ha and An Loc, but in the reconstruction of the NLF power base in rural areas throughout much of central Vietnam, if not the whole country."

It is that power base—people—that is the target of Nixon's escalation, both in South and North Vietnam. The policy of U.S. imperialism in Indochina remains what it has been since the beginning of the American intervention: the attempt to terrorize the population into submission. Until he is forced to withdraw all American troops, weapons, and "support," the terror—and the willingness to try increasingly dangerous measures—will continue to escalate.

Women in Revolt



ADELAIDE WOMEN FIGHT ARCHAIC CITY BYLAW

On Friday May 19 about a dozen women staged a picket outside the Town Council in Adelaide to protest archaic and discriminatory laws relating to news vending, where by women are refused licences to sell newspapers in the street. The women handed out leaflets and in defiance of the bylaw, sold about 80 copies of the women's liberation newspaper *Mejane*. They received good press coverage and were interviewed by two television networks. The council will apparently meet next week to discuss the matter. The campaign will be stepped up if these antiquated laws are not repealed.

ADELAIDE WOMEN'S LIBERATION

There have been two major developments in the women's liberation movement in Adelaide recently, both of which indicate a growth in the movement. The first was the acquisition of premises (first floor, Bloor House, Bloor Court, Adelaide) which all the Adelaide groups will share. This will mean more effective co-ordination within the whole movement and serve as a place where women can get together to discuss and organise, and to run various cultural activities.

The second development was the decision to "decentralise" the Adelaide movement. Since its inception, the movement in Adelaide has been centred in one large university based group. Now it is hoped to encourage the growth of more regional and special interest groups, while holding general meetings of all groups every four or six weeks. The advantages of dividing into these smaller groups are that it will be easier to integrate and involve new women in the activities of the movement.

BACK TO BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES!

Male and female residential students at Bathurst College of Advanced Education all pay the same board. However, it seems the males get more for their money!

Recently a section of the administration became concerned over the wastage of bread in the college cafeteria. The situation was reviewed, and it was decided that men could continue to have two slices of bread with meals, but women could have only one. The women on the campus voiced their anger about this and in the face of this outrage, the administration was forced to concede the second slice, but only on the condition that women collected one slice at a time (in true *Oliver Twist* style!).

Disparity also exists apparently between the size of meals served to men and women. It seems you've got to be in drag to get a square meal these days at Bathurst CAE!

DIDN'T SEE FIT TO HIRE A WOMAN

Builders Labourers, belonging to the Builders Labourers Federation, on a construction site in Sydney have been on strike since 11th May following the refusal of the construction company, James Wallace Pty. Ltd. to employ 20 year old Karlene Slattery as a "nipper". (This job entails clearing up after builders). Ms Slattery who has been doing this kind of work for eighteen months said she turned up for the job and the site foreman told her he could not employ her. The Sydney Morning Herald 20/5/72

quotes a spokesman of the company as saying:

"The issues are not that she is a woman, the thing that concerned us was that the B.L.F. came along and said employ this person." He said that the company wanted to reserve the right to hire people as it saw fit.

SWEDEN'S "FIRST MARCH FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS"

One thousand women, men and children took part on April 8 in what *Dagens Nyheter* called Sweden's "first march for women's rights". At the head of the march was a big red banner that said "Struggle for Socialism and Women's Liberation".

The main demands of the demonstration were jobs for all, day care centres and job training for women. It was organised by the militant women's liberation organisation Group 8.

According to the report in *Dagens Nyheter* on April 9, "the women who want revolution - and Group 8 does - were at the head of the march, while those who only want more day care centres, or an end to the exploitation of women as part of the reserve labour force or as sex objects, followed further behind".

Many of the signs carried by demonstrators raised demands relating to child care centres. One for instance, pointed out that "380,000 children have parents who work - child care centres have room for 38,000".

Some of the chants were: "No to Women as Sex Objects" and "Women: Look at your Situation, Join the Struggle for Revolution!".

Among the speakers at the rally was Carol Lipman, who was touring Europe for the US Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

US WOMEN DEMAND RIGHT TO ABORTION

During the first week in May Richard Nixon took some time out from his pressing schedule of strategy meetings on how to conduct the slaughter in Indochina to intervene in the debate going on in the New York State Legislature on the question of abortion laws. In 1970 New York passed one of the most liberal abortion laws in the United States, permitting abortion on request up to the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

In the present session of the legislature a bill has been introduced that would repeal the 1970 Law and re-institute the previous statute (passed in the nineteenth century) prohibiting all abortions except to save the life of the mother-to-be.

The campaign for repeal of the present law is led by the Catholic Church. On May 6, Cardinal Cooke, head of the New York City Archdiocese, announced that he had received a letter from Tricky Dick himself. It said, in part:

"Recently I read in The Daily News ('New York's Picture Newspaper,' according to its masthead, a widely read rag specialising in crime news, Hollywood gossip, comics, sports, and red-baiting) that the Archdiocese of New York, under your leadership, had initiated a campaign to bring about repeal of the state's liberalized abortion laws. Though this is a matter for state decision outside federal jurisdiction, I would personally like to associate

myself with the convictions you deeply feel and eloquently express.

"The unrestricted abortion policies now recommended by some Americans, and the liberalized abortion policies in effect in some sections of this country seem to me impossible to reconcile with either our religious traditions or our Western heritage. One of the foundation stones of our society and civilization is the profound belief that human life, all human life, is a precious commodity (sic!) - not to be taken without the gravest of causes."

Many people have suspected for some time now that Nixon drew his conception of Western culture from "The Daily News". (The day massive bombing attacks on North Vietnam were resumed, that paper carried a page one headline reporting that the local baseball team had appointed a new manager.)

Nevertheless, even the most experienced observers of Nixon's political career could not help but find some cause for surprise in the great leader's pronouncement. Nixon's statement of concern for humanity is of course beyond comment. But his reference to human life as a "precious commodity" was an assertion of uncommon candour.

The president went on to say that church officials' decision to "act in the public forum as defenders of the right to life of the unborn is truly a noble endeavour."

The effect of Nixon's action on the legislature vote is not yet known. But on the same day that Cooke revealed the letter, some 1,500 women and men demonstrated in New York City against all laws restricting the right of abortion. Sponsored by a wide range of organisations and built under the slogan "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose," the action was part of a series of demonstrations in more than a dozen cities in the United States called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. The size of those actions ranged from 150 to 500, with the average being about 250-300.

The disclosure of the presidential letter on the New York abortion law came just one day after Nixon rejected two central recommendations of his own Commission on Population Growth. That body had urged the repeal of all laws restricting the right to abortion, citing "the freedom of women to make difficult moral choices based on their own personal values, the freedom of women to control their own fertility, and finally, freedom from the burden of unwanted childbearing."

The commission also recommended the widespread dissemination of birth control information and devices, especially to teen-agers.

The latter proposal, said Nixon, "would do nothing to preserve and strengthen close family relations."

He went on to express his trust in the American people, saying they would make "sound judgements that are conducive both to the public interest and to personal family goals."

REMEMBER THE CONFERENCE.

Anational conference of the women's liberation movement will be held in Sydney June 10-12. Information about the conference can be obtained from: Women's Conference, Box K152, P.O. Haymarket, Sydney, 2000.



Refugee fleeing fighting at Quangtri as puppet forces move in.

Far Eastern Economic Review, Benjamin Cherry added some details about the liberation forces' sources of supply.

METAL TRADES AMALGAMATE

by Howard Lee

The latest attempt by the 'right wing' DLP to prevent the amalgamation of three key metal unions was defeated recently when an application to prevent the necessary de-registration of two of the unions; the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths Society (B. & B. S.) and the Sheet Metal Workers Union (SMWU) was rejected by a majority decision of the High Court.

The latest defeat for the DLP comes just one week after a series of mass meetings of metal workers of the new union, the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union (AMWU) were held throughout Australia to protest the DLP's interference in the Union's affairs. Motions attacking the anti-union 'Lynch Laws' legislation were also passed at the meetings.

The motive of the DLP's attack on amalgamation stems from their wholehearted support of the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie in its struggle against monopoly capitalism, and particularly International monopoly capitalism. The sudden appearance of a 'militant' metal union some 180,000 members strong must greatly alarm the smaller enterprises which individually lack sufficient power to challenge a union of this size. The role of the DLP in this case is one of trying to turn back the clock and restore 'Laissez faire' capitalism, a move which in the long run cannot succeed and which must put in doubt the continued existence of the remaining metal unions such as Federated Ironworkers' Association and Australian Society of Engineers which are at present under DLP influence.

With the support of some government backbenchers, the DLP has been able to blackmail the government into supporting financially, their objection. However, the cost, in legal fees to the AMWU will probably reach \$20,000. Costs were awarded against the DLP.

The Objectives of Amalgamation
Amalgamation of unions has long been a part of ACTU policy. Dividing industry into seven groupings (such as transport, metal, etc.) the aim of the amalgamations is to achieve one union for each group. In principle this would strengthen the power of the workers as in any dispute they could draw upon the combined financial and numerical resources available.

In practice, however, the building of industrial unionism in opposition to craft unionism in this period is largely a reflection of the current needs of monopoly capitalism.

The prospect of eliminating costly demarcation disputes and imposing uniform award rates and conditions throughout the industry as well as the creation of a centralised union bureaucracy capable of imposing the will of monopoly capitalism upon the workers are the basic reasons for the support given by the powerful employers' organisation, the Metal Trades Industry Association (MTIA) to amalgamation.

For the unions concerned, the impetus for amalgamation came from the unrest caused by the 1967 Metal Trades work value case in which a majority decision

of the Arbitration Bench decided that increases granted could be absorbed by the employers into overaward payments. Over award payments have long been a thorn in the side of the metal trades employers. The monopolisation of capital, coupled with a deliberate policy of fostering unemployment has made some inroads in this regard as it has much reduced the competition for labour among the employers.

The bureaucracy however, despite their strong rhetoric about increased strength and militancy have no illusions as to who is the stronger, the unions or the corporations. Devereux, President of the AMWU in an interview with Finance Week 10/3/72 states that because the employers' resources in the metal industry often have a multi-national basis they can switch production from one country to another. A recent example would be the shift by General Motors of its toolmaking operations from Elizabeth, South Australia, to Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

The Role Of The Bureaucracy

The role of the bureaucracy in the present amalgamation has been one of continued sell out of the interests of the workers concerned. Right from the start the battle between 'right' and 'left' officials of these unions for places in the new structure took preference over the desire and interests of the rank and file. Unlike the situation facing the members in industry during that period, there were no redundancies for officials.

For amalgamation to proceed legally in accordance with the Arbitration Act, two of the unions had to be de-registered. In December, 1971, the Government saw its chance to force the 'militant' unions to choose between amalgamation or adherence to their declared policies and the policy of the whole trade union movement, of non-recognition of penal sanctions and fines by refusing to allow de-registration of the B. & B. S. and SMWU until all 'outstanding liabilities were met.

The bureaucracy of course chose to avoid confrontation with the government and to breach policy and paid the fines. One union, the B. & B. S., had at its April 1971 Federal Conference decided by 528 - 0 not to recognize penal sanctions. In view of this statement by the AMWU assistant secretary, Laurie Carmichael during the mass meetings, that the amalgamation would proceed outside arbitration if the DLP objections succeeded in court, is somewhat hollow.

The Rules
The provisions of the rules of the AMWU, which are an expanded version of the Amalgamated Engineering Union's (AEU) are a lesson in bureaucracy. They provide for among other things:-

1. Area branches, with membership determined by where you live.
2. Area branches have no decision making powers either individually or collectively; they can only make recommendations to the Committee of Management.
3. Union officials upon reaching the age of 55 or 59, if they agree to retire at 65, need not face another election.
4. On completion of amalgamation in 1973 some officials will not have to face election by rank and file for 8 - 10 years.

The CPA and Workers' Democracy
The role of the CPA and their attitude to the rules in the present amalgamation has been one of unshamed support. Characterising the move as "progressive" in their press the CPA, through Laurie Carmichael, a National Committee member and industrial spokesman for the CPA as well as assistant Federal Secretary of the AMWU, must share the blame for this savage attack on the democratic rights of the rank and file.

When challenged on this score at the Brisbane stoppage by a militant metal worker, Carmichael excused the bureaucracy by claiming that "anything else would be impracticable". He went on to add that he knew of many unions whose officials were Hitler and Mussolini. He failed of course to mention the fact that many unions also have Stalins, who are just as ready to sell out the interests of the workers. Carmichael was also influential in the decision made by the B&BS and SMWU to pay the fines.

Rank and File Control

Despite an attempt by Mr. Carmichael to neatly classify those who object to the provisions of amalgamation with those who oppose the principle of amalgamation, at least one militant at the Brisbane stoppage was able to defy this crude slander and present an alternate strategy to the meeting which was sympathetically, if not enthusiastically received by the crowd. Among the demands put forward, which go at least part of the way towards protecting the interests of the rank and file, were:

1. Real rank and file democracy - for rank and file control of unions.
2. A structure that would ensure this democracy by having job branches with decision making powers as well as regular aggregate meetings held in the bosses time.
3. Limited tenure of office for all union officials and provision for immediate recall of all officials.

Despite the greatly increased strength of the bureaucracy and the possibility of the AMWU developing into something



Laurie Carmichael addressing metal workers mass meeting at Wentworth Park, Sydney

like the huge CIO of the USA and the large industrial unions of West Germany and Sweden which function almost completely in the interests of the capitalist ruling class, the potential for revolutionary struggle within industrial unions is much greater for a number of reasons, particularly in the coming period. The possibility of eliminating the divisive craft barriers that previously operated to isolate workers' struggles as well as the numerical strength gained from this greatly increases the capacity of these workers for struggle around their own demands. This could well be of decisive advantage in the coming period, for as the capitalist economic crisis worsens, their attacks on the living standards and organisation of the working class will increase.

Lynch Laws

The Lynch laws, or amendments to the present Arbitration Act, are the first such attacks on the organised working class in this period. This legislation with its savage penal clauses, secret ballots etc. is designed to limit the independence of the trade union movement. Coupled with a virtual wage freeze which the meagre \$2 rise represents, the stage has been set for confrontation between the workers, seeking in this case to just defend their rights, and the capitalist ruling class. Here again, the role of the union bureaucracy can be seen. Instead of calling for mass struggle after patiently explaining the issues to the workers involved, the response of the bureaucracy to both the \$2 rise and the Lynch laws has been minimal. Instead Devereux, president of AMWU and executive member of the ACTU, has called on industry to give workers a say in management. "Industry can expect better production figures", he says. Australian 8/5/72

Only real rank and file control of the unions coupled with a revolutionary perspective of the system as a whole, will be able to change this. For this reason it is imperative that the democratic demands advanced by militant sections of the working class be supported by all those who wish to put an end to capitalist exploitation.

Students and teachers are gradually beginning to realise that claims for an improved educational system, can only be met by decisive, organised action, rather than relying on parliamentary apathy and empty election promises, as has occurred in the past. Teachers are now seeing their situation as similar to that of the working class, where demands for better conditions and salary improvements must be fought for. Consequently their identification with the working class is increasing. Militancy, although at present in relatively isolated pockets is spreading.

The cracks within the Education Department will have been slowly widening, and this process has been glaringly apparent within the past few weeks. On April 2, members of the T. T. A. V. (Technical Teachers Association of Victoria) joined the spiraling wave of industrial unrest when a meeting of approximately 3,000 union members passed a resolution calling for an indefinite strike, in response to unsuccessful negotiations with the Teachers' Tribunal, concerning a forthcoming salary award. The instituting of an indefinite mass strike is unprecedented in the history of Victorian education. Past action has resulted in only half-day or full-day stoppages, with much reluctance on the part of many teachers. Also such action has been a resounding failure. The overwhelming desire among union members for more decisive and militant action was further reflected in the shelving of an amendment calling for a series of progressively increasing rolling strikes, beginning in first term and continuing throughout second term.

The T. T. A. V. claims regarding the salary award that it aims at creating a teaching service that attracts the best quality applicants to teaching, provides fully trained and qualified teachers, and fosters a service structure that encourages co-operation between teachers as equals. To this end, the T. T. A. V. has put forward the following specific claims:

1. abolition of the present promotion system and replacement by automatic progression.
2. salary levels that recognise the contributions of the teacher to the community, comparable to salaries available to other professions.
3. allowances for responsible positions.
4. Equal salary rates and rights of advancement and promotion for all qualified teachers.
5. Retrospectivity.

During the week following the strike re-



Technical teachers picketing Parliament House, Melbourne

INDUSTRIAL ACTION

TTAV

by LEITHA NILSEN

The crisis within the Victorian education system appears to have reached an all time high, with the celebration of the centenary of education within the state. Disillusionment from within the system, from teachers and students, is widespread and constantly growing. Education is not meeting the needs of the people, nor will it, if the present trends within state schools are continued in the future. Archaic curricula, unsatisfactory aims and objectives, nineteenth century school organisation and appalling classroom conditions are succeeding in alienating both student and teacher alike. Students see a system oriented towards progressively increasing competition, with examinations and arbitrary assessments playing a paramount role, while teachers find their ideas and enthusiasm drowning in the system's bureaucratic quagmire.

The response from other teaching unions has been poor. The V. T. U. (Victorian Teachers' Union) in its ever-increasing reactionary role, has refused to support the T. T. A. V. and has issued literature urging striking union members to return to work. Such sentiments have been faintly echoed by the V. S. T. A. (Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association), whose right wing stance has resulted in an emphasis on professionalism, and in a moralising and chauvinistic attitude towards educational reform instituted by organised mass action from below.

At present the technical teachers have called a "temporary pause" in the strike, with the onset of the holiday period. Next term will see if the strike action is to be continued, if militancy and radicalisation, among union members and teachers in general, has further increased and if widespread public support can tip the scales against governmental ineptitude.

ACOA

by ANDREW JAMESON

In response to the Liberal Government's recent move to block a 9% wage increase to the Commonwealth Public Service the Administrative and Clerical Officers Association (ACOA) in collaboration with other unions with members in the CPS (eg. Federated Clerks Union, Australian Postal Workers Union etc.) called a lunch-hour mass meeting to discuss the issues involved.

The three thousand strong meeting heard several long-winded and dry speeches on the reasons why the ACOA knocked back the 4.6% offer by the Government and why the union considers 9% as reasonable. The tone of the meeting was dull and this feeling aided the union official who only resorted to a motion condemning the Government.

At no time was there any mention of Lynch's new legislation designed to weaken Public Service Union's bargaining power. At no time was there any mention of why the Government was attempting to stifle the Public Servants rights.

It appears the union bureaucrats are trying to shelve the whole issue of these anti-union laws. The legislation not only intends to break the unions' right to industrial action by threatening lay-offs but it also serves to divide the working class by threatening to sack public

solution, T. T. A. V. members carried out an intensive publicity campaign in an effort to gain public support and exert political pressure upon the government. Union members addressed meetings of workers, teachers, parents and students in an attempt to explain, and justify their claims. Leaflets were distributed and continual all-night vigils were maintained on Parliament House steps. Activities finally culminated in a march of T. T. A. V. members and supporters, through Melbourne streets to Parliament House.

The results of the campaign have been varied. On a general level the public now appears to be aware of the teachers' claims and some support, though in some cases, passive, has been forthcoming. More particularly, many unions have expressed their solidarity with the Technical teachers' action and in some cases have pledged limited financial support. Furthermore these unions have urged apprentices under their jurisdiction to boycott school classes.

Recently however, a movement has been under way at the plant to change membership to the newly formed Amalgamated Metal Workers Union. Immediately the men were sacked, about seventy more walked off the job, demanding reinstatement for the sacked men and the right of the plant employees to discuss and decide what union they would prefer to join. When components from Wilkins Servis arrived at the Pope Simpson factory on Tuesday 9th May, the workers at the plant, members of the AMWU, walked off the job. The AMWU workers at Pope Simpson returned to work on the Wednesday, but the seventy at Wilkins Servis are still out and are being organised on a roster system by the AMWU to continuously picket the factory.

This is no mere inter-union demarcation squabble, the type that has marred the history of the labour movement with petty craft consciousness, this stems directly from the rank and file, who are demanding the right to organise themselves. Secondly, it shows real working class solidarity on the part of the Simpson Pope workers. With the present militant mood of the rank and file of the AMWU in South Australia and their determination to struggle and win, any extension of the influence of the AMWU to the various sectors of the metal working industry should be welcomed, despite its rather doubtful leadership.

PKIU

by SOL SALBY

Over the last few weeks Sydney's newspapers have been full of pious remarks about printer's strike. Full of self-congratulation about their efforts to keep coming out, they have, of course, not mentioned that they have been produced by scab labour. Since April 11th various members of the Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU) have been intermittently on strike.

The dispute started when readers at the "Australian" refused to handle proofs containing 4 1/2 print type. The readers said that the type face was too small and it was hurting their eyes. Their action was made in defiance of a direction by the Union's Committee of Management and the Chapel (union sub-branch). Earlier in 1965 the Federal Executive of the PKIU ruled that no evidence existed that undue hardship was caused by reading this type.

The management had no intention of

servants who cannot work due to an outside industrial dispute.

This legislation must be defeated and this can only be done through a united union acting independently of arbitration. However the ACOA has taken no action. An attempt was made to move for independent action at the mass meeting but any motions had to be ratified by the Federal Secretaries of the unions represented, so oppositionists couldn't put forward any motions because of the bureaucratic machinery involved.

It is fairly clear these bureaucrats sense the militancy which has hit other white collar unions (such as the Australian Bank Officers Association and the Municipal Officers Association) will finally hit the public service; so they must put on an aggressive mask but at the same time curb any militant feelings and try to channel them into Arbitration. However it isn't easy to dampen these militant aspirations even if the Government has moved into tackle them at this early stage. It will not be too long before these bastions of conservatism move into action over such issues as their unions being attacked and their salary claims being ignored.

AMWU

by COL MAYNARD

Six hundred and fifty workers at the Dudley Park S.A., plant of Simpson Pope Ltd., went on strike on Tuesday 9th May in support of seventy strikers at the Elizabeth, S.A., plant of Wilkins Servis Pty Ltd.

The dispute started on Tuesday 2nd May, when six workers at Wilkins Servis were dismissed for agitating for a change in unions. Workers at the plant are presently organised in the right-wing Australasian Society of Engineers. Wilkins Servis have demanded that all its employees join the ASE thinking that they could be brought under control much earlier by this union, well known for its timidity, strike breaking and reactionary leadership.

Several mass meetings followed, even when the printers were willing to go back to work. Awaiting the outcome of the negotiations with the boss, they were unable to return as the bosses refused to remove work done by scab labour. The arbitration court judge handling the case, Mr. Cahill, had to admit later on that the employers offers were "industrially" impractical and unrealistic.

In the meantime the newspapers were being produced by staff (scab) labour. The Australian Journalist Association (AJA) hasn't come out in full support of the striking printers. The AJA bureaucrats have been aided by statements from the PKIU bureaucracy asking them not to aggravate the dispute. The AJA has had as one of its arguments for its inertia, the breaking of the agreement by the printers. Ironically the AJA itself is going to make a similar claim to the PKIU within the next few months. (See John Edwards "Journalist next to reopen award" New Journalist No. 1 May 72). The AJA's timidity has allowed the press barons to increase their profits during the dispute; with production cost down 35% and the wage bill halved profits skyrocketed -- so much so that they were even able to offer living quarters for the scabs inside their buildings in order not to subject the scabs to abuse from the picket line.

At this stage the strike is continuing. For its success all other unions involved, in particular the AJA, should support the striking printers. Every effort must be made to stop the bosses using scab labour. The first steps must be unionisation of the staff and strike action by the AJA.

FIGHT SUMMARY OFFENCES ACT

by Chris Graham

The Summary Offences Act has been increasingly used by the ruling class to suppress the rising tide of working class militancy, particularly against unions like the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) which are more militant than most. Thus when 36 members of the BLF and the Federated Engine Drivers & Firemen's Association occupied an excavation site to prevent scab labour from being used and to defend Builders Labourers Union President who had been assaulted by an employer, they were promptly arrested and appeared in Central Court May 8, 9. About 300 members of the BLF and FED & FA turned up to demonstrate against the arrests and the Summary Offences Act. The two unions held separate rallies and then marched to Central Court where a further rally was held. The men were addressed by Bob Pringle, President of the BLF, Jack Munday, Secretary, Joe Owens, an organiser, Doris Jobling, a Teachers' Federation organiser who has also been arrested under the Summary Offences Act, and Jaya Vithana, a visiting Ceylonese revolutionary and leading member of the

Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, who described the repression of the workers struggles in Ceylon. A collection for a Ceylonese workers Defense fund was taken, \$60 was collected.

The rally was an impressive show of union solidarity with the arrested workers. It was undoubtedly this factor which led to their acquittal on a "technicality". But this unity was marred by two things. Firstly, the apparent refusal of the FED & FA leadership to have a joint rally and march with the BLF before the demonstration, and secondly the almost total lack of support from the bureaucrats of the Trades & Labour Council, which, apart from sponsoring a token delegation to see Chief Secretary Willis, who refused to give assurance that the Act would not be used against workers, offered no support at all. In the deepening struggles against capitalist repression, this factionalism cannot be tolerated.

In Canberra a taste of this intensifying repression was handed out under the Crimes Act when two builders' labourers were

gaoled for 6 months (!) again for trying to stop scab labour. One of the men is 54 years old, and the other is 22 and has a pregnant wife. Neither has a record.

The BLF has appealed against the sentences and is calling for a national strike by the union. The Canberra Trades Hall Council has agreed to sponsor a general stoppage when the appeals are heard. They stopped short of a strike when the incident actually occurred, however.

This type of repression can only be met by mobilising the whole of the working class against it. Jack Munday, said that the BLF supports the formation of a committee of unionists to campaign for the repeal of the Summary Offences Act in particular as well as other repressive legislation. Such a committee would greatly facilitate working class solidarity against repressive laws. As well as the Summary Offences Act however, it would be advisable to focus attention on the Lynch Laws and the Cameron Proposals, in the knowledge that these measures are designed to shackle the militancy of the working class.



BLF President Pringle assaulted by boss

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Published by the Socialist Action League

A fortnightly revolutionary newspaper published by the Socialist Action League of New Zealand. Box 1663, Wellington, New Zealand

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WHY INTERNATIONALISM?

WHY I SUPPORT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE, by Gordon Adler

Gordon Adler has been a member of the Communist Party of Australia since 1959 and the CPA District Committee 1970-72. The following article presents his view of what is wrong with the CPA.

Of all the political organisations in Australia claiming to be revolutionary, there is not one that does not assert its allegiance to some form of internationalism. The Communist Party of Australia, the Socialist Party of Australia, the Socialist Labour League, the supporters of the paper *International* and the Socialist Workers League all express their different concepts of internationalism, and it is from these political differences that arise the wide variations in political activity that distinguish these organisations from each other. The differences are quite fundamental and need to be examined critically in order to understand and to solve the problems confronting those who seek to build a mass revolutionary party that poses a serious threat to the capitalist system in this country. Many young radicals, bewildered by the disarray of the left wing parties and the sharpness of the attacks they sometimes make upon each other, cannot understand why they do not bury their differences and unite together in a common front against the forces of the ruling classes. They also question the emphasis on political theory, from which these differences arise, and often show a marked distrust of theoretical analysis, demanding action as the sole measure of revolutionary development.

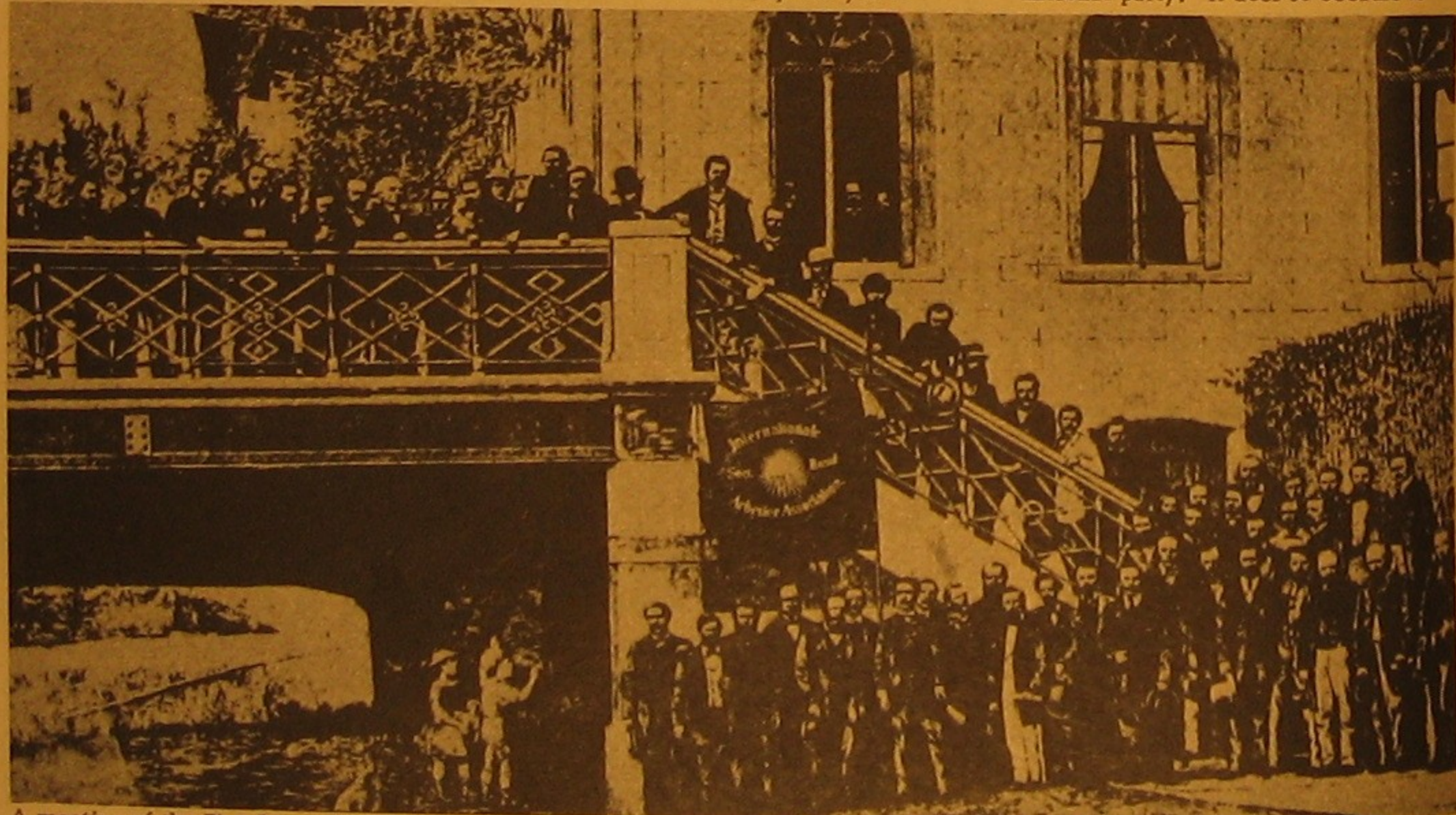
It is not only the young of course, who have come to reject belief in the necessity for a sound political theory. Many of the older members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) for instance, adopt an extremely critical attitude towards the Socialist Workers League (SWL) and the Fourth International for what seems to them an excessive preoccupation with theory. But history has shown time and time again that neglect of theoretical analysis has led even great and powerful parties into error, and that such errors have very often carried these parties out of the camp of the working class and into the camp of the enemies of the working class. The working class has paid dearly, in many bloody defeats, for the errors and betrayals of its leaders. The deep rooted belief in the Popular Front, for instance, the coalition of the revolutionary party in a union with parties representing the interests of the capitalist class, has become a kind of fetish in the communist movement. The participation of the Communist Party of Ceylon in the coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike, and its responsibility for the reign of bloody terror unleashed against the working class, and the support given by the Communist Party of China to the butchers of the workers of Bangla Desh, are but two of many recent examples giving eloquent proof of the important relationship between theory and practice.

What, then, is internationalism? From the very beginning of the era of the revolutionary working class movement, with the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, what distinguished Marxist socialism from utopian and other forms of petit bourgeois socialism, what put teeth into the revolutionary socialist movement, was its internationalism. From an analysis of the material conditions existing in bourgeois society, Marx revealed the nature of the class forces this society brought into conflict, and the irreconcilable antagonisms of the working class and the bourgeoisie in all the advanced capitalist countries. From this Marx demonstrated the common interests of the working class of all countries, and the impossibility of overthrowing the bourgeoisie in any one country without an international revolutionary movement. As the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 so clearly illustrated, any attempt of the working class to take power within the boundaries of a single nation state, will always be crushed by an international alliance of the bourgeoisie unless such an alliance is prevented or broken by a corresponding response on the part of the working classes on an international scale. If this was true in Marx's time it is more than ever true today, in the epoch of the growth of giant international finance monopolies. All historical experience to the present time has confirmed the validity of Marx's emphasis on the supreme importance of the international unity of the

proletariat, and from the inception of the bolshevik movement in Russia, Lenin stressed its identification with the Marxist social democratic parties of modern Europe. No modern revolution has ever developed out of purely internal conflicts, and the greatest revolution of modern times occurred in the conditions generated by the eruption of the fourteen imperialist armies and the subsequent civil war was finally brought to an end by working class solidarity, which made it impossible for the imperialist powers to despatch forces of sufficient size to defeat the revolutionary armies. Can anyone seriously imagine that the liberation forces in Indo China today would have any chance of victory against the full might of the military power of the United States if the antiwar movement had not succeeded in mobilising sufficient forces to compel the withdrawal of a major part of the ground forces of the US Army? Can anyone imagine that the building of such an antiwar movement would have been possible without the epic struggle of the Indochinese people? And can any serious student of political affairs believe that intervention in Vietnam and the rest of Indo China would ever have been possible if the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China had made any attempt to construct an international front against imperialism?

Internationalism, then, is at the core of the Marxist movement for working class power, and it is the betrayal of international socialism that lies at the root of the crimes and the errors of the political parties.

How do the various parties of the left see this question in practice? It is not possible here to consider in detail the attitude of each organisation. In the case of the ultra-Stalinists of the Maoist and the pro-Brezhnev variety, recent events have so undermined the credibility of their political theory and practise that little discussion of their views is necessary here. For them, internationalism is simply a matter of supporting each and every decision of the leaders of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union or of China, and of endorsing every twist and turn of Soviet or Chinese foreign policy, however unprincipled this might be, and of attempting to justify the multifarious restrictions on the liberties of the people in these countries, such as the gaoing of writers and



A meeting of the First International

other dissidents in the Soviet Union, and the shooting down of workers in the streets of Poland. Such obsequious dependence on the will of the rulers in the Kremlin and in Peking has destroyed the prospects of the Communist parties in most of the capitalist countries, and has rendered them incapable of building any sizeable mass movements around issues of international importance. The support of the Communist Party of the United States for the invasion of Czechoslovakia for example, has helped to isolate it from the radicalising youth of America, and has hindered it from leading any significant mass struggle against

the war in Vietnam.

The Communist Party of Australia, on the other hand, claims to have broken with Stalinism, and asserts that it has adopted an independent position in revolutionary politics, judging each issue on its merits without reference to any fundamental dogma, relying on its own experience and not on the experience of others. A careful examination of CPA policies and actions, however, reveals that the break may not be as fundamental as the leaders suppose. The CPA has certainly rejected many of the more repulsive tenets of Stalinist ideology, and has condemned many actions of the CPSU. At the same time however, it has repudiated some of the most basic elements of Marxism, such as the supreme importance of the international movement, the need for party organisation, and the necessity of viewing every question from the standpoint of the class interests of the workers.

But the CPA position of rejecting all "dogmas" simply amounts to the fact that its independent position is no more than trying to sit on the fence and to avoid coming down fully on the side of either Stalinism or Trotskyism.

Denis Freney, in a review of Trotskyist trends in Australia, expresses the quite mistaken view that the attractiveness of Trotskyism to the radical youth of today is the "dogmatism" of the Fourth International. But dogmatism has never attracted any significant body of youth to a revolutionary position. What attracts youth to the Fourth International is its clear, principled statement of where it stands, its firm Marxist theoretical foundation, and its challenge to the dominance of the old Stalinist parties on an international scale. By attacking the Fourth International in the way they do, Denis Freney and the CPA leaders are lining up with international Stalinism, and no amount of wise words and lengthy theorising can alter this basic fact.

It is not possible to deal with all aspects of CPA policy exhaustively in this article. But an examination of some examples will illustrate what is at issue.

On the question of internationalism the CPA position is contradictory. The CPA places stress on its participation in solidarity actions with the revolutionary forces of Indo China, New Guinea and other areas of the world, and yet it

denies organisation on bolshevik lines with Stalinism. The CPA has made a great effort to create the impression that it has broken with Stalinism, and that it has, at last, after fifty years, found the correct path to socialism. It is necessary therefore, to consider the true nature of Stalinism. It is simply a distortion of Marxism through the evil machinations of one man or a small junta? Is it the result of mistakes on the part of the leaders of the bolshevik party, an accidental quirk of history due solely to human error? Is it something that grows inevitably from the Leninist organisation and practice? Trotsky has

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furnished an alternative and more fundamental explanation of the ideological and social roots of Stalinism.

The ideology of revolutionary socialism is new, whereas the ideology of the bourgeois world is very old. In its struggle for the leadership of the working class movement, the revolutionary party is subjected constantly to the influence of the ideology and pressure of the old society, and at certain times and in certain countries it succumbs to bourgeois influence, leading to the betrayal of the revolution and the development of a reformist type of party. These same influences however, can affect the revolutionary party after it has conquered and taken power, but in these circumstances the bourgeois influence will masquerade in quite different forms, and will manifest itself in revolutionary phraseology. Stalinism, according to Trotsky, is the manifestation of bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the party of the victorious October revolution. It arose originally as an adaptation of the bolshevik party to bourgeois influence in the harsh conditions arising out of civil war, famine and the exhaustion and decimation of the working class. It was able to triumph only through the murder of all of the bolshevik leaders who had not abandoned international socialism. It was, and remains, fundamentally counter-revolutionary. Only when all the genuine revolutionaries had been eliminated could Stalinism present itself to the world as the legitimate heir to the October revolution. It very quickly came to dominate all the communist parties of the world, including the CPA.

The Stalinist regime soon abandoned all pretence at leading the world revolution. "Socialism in One Country" became the slogan under which the workers of Germany, Spain, China and many other countries were betrayed in the interests of the bureaucratic oligarchy that had arisen in the Soviet Union. Time and time again the workers have been sold down the river by the Soviet leaders, who have never hesitated to sacrifice the communist parties of the world in order to make unprincipled and short-sighted deals with some of the most reactionary powers in the world, the most infamous of all being the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact of 1939.

It has been the unhappy lot of the CPA, over the years, to be called upon to justify every devious manoeuvre of the Soviet Communist Party leaders. For almost forty years its leaders performed this task without ever voicing any criticism. But in 1968, faced with the results of many years of subservience to the Stalinist leaders of the CPSU, the CPA eventually found its burden intolerable. With the invasion of Czechoslovakia it had the choice of either condemning the invasion or meeting with its own destruction.

The CPA decided to denounce the invasion, and earned itself the undying wrath of the Soviet leaders. A bitter faction fight developed, and resulted in a major split in the party. To many, it seemed that the party had finally made a decisive break with Stalinism.

What of the new policies? Do they signify a turn in the direction of Marxism or of bourgeois-liberalism? The party's attitude to censorship gives a very clear indication of the answer to this question. In trying to dissociate itself from the expressive censorship in the Soviet Union the CPA has adopted the position of condemning all forms of censorship, under all circumstances. But the question at issue in the Soviet Union is not whether censorship is an evil in itself; it is the use of the censorship and the repressive apparatus against the working class. And what revolutionary socialist would dispute the right of a working class government to use its authority to prevent the dissemination of racist propaganda by sympathisers of the Smith regime in Rhodesia? This failure to perceive the class character of the repression in the Soviet Union has led the CPA to encourage the propagation of a great deal of worthless rubbish that makes no serious challenge to the authority of the government, and diverts the movement from the more serious tasks confronting it. Many CPA leaders now see themselves as apostles of pure freedom, Brian Aarons, for instance, in an editorial article in *Australian Left Review* (No. 35, May 1972) claims that the CPA has gone further in elaborating a model of the socialist society it stands for, than any other group on the Australian Left. This model is a society in which everyone will have absolute freedom to write and act as he chooses, without let or hindrance in any way by the representation of working class power. One wonders what the Nixons, the Hitlers, the Suhartos and the Thieus of this world will be doing

while the CPA is attempting to set up this utopian fairyland. The regime that lays down its arms in the face of the armed assault of the counter revolution is no workers' regime.

There are other areas in which CPA policy has floundered as a result of the lack of a clear theoretical analysis. These examples merely illustrate the problems created by the rejection of the Marxist perspective and bolshevik organisational form. The crucial test of the relation between Stalinism and CPA policy, however, is its attitude to the young and growing Trotskyist movement that has developed so rapidly following the world wide radicalisation of youth since 1968. Owing to the influence of many decades of lies and slanders from the Moscow propaganda machine, Trotsky's name has been surrounded by a kind of satanic mythology that makes it difficult, even today, for many older members of the CPA to adopt an objective view of Trotsky's ideas. But until this is done it is out of the question for anyone to claim to have broken with Stalinism.

To another area, the women's liberation movement, some in the CPA have devoted a great deal of effort. The women's liberation movement is one of the most important developments of recent years. The movement is potentially revolutionary, in that the realisation of full equality for women is only possible in a socialist society. The movement ought to command the support of all revolutionary socialists, whatever their persuasion. But the responsibility of Marxists in such a movement is to try to develop an understanding of the social and ideological origins and the causes of the inferior status of women, and the close relation between the liberation of women and the socialist revolution. This is not to say that they should try to impose a socialist programme on the movement. Quite the reverse. The emphasis should be placed on the aim of developing mass action in support of specific demands, as in the Women's March Action Campaign. But the CPA women active in the movement have argued that since women in the Soviet Union have not reached full equality with men, the politics of the socialist revolution are largely irrelevant to the struggle for the liberation of women. They have denied the class character of the oppression of women, and they have adapted themselves to the most primitive anti-male sentiments of sections of the movement.

In the trade unions, too, this process of adaption has occurred. It is no accident that since the recent split in the party the most serious losses have been in the trade unions. Despite the retention of some key positions in certain important trade unions the general trend of CPA influence has been one of decline, even since 1968. The history of the New South Wales Teachers' Federation throws some light on the reasons for this trend.

In the Teachers' Federation the CPA speaks with two voices. The party is unable to arrive at any clear policy decisions because battles have developed between the two factions in the union on all the major questions. But the faction supporting the CPA majority line, seeking to prove itself the more militant, adapted itself uncritically to the line of the militants in the union. Under their leadership the Federation adopted the policy of rejecting the credentials of large numbers of experienced and highly qualified teachers. They did this, they claimed, because they were seeking to maintain high educational standards. This policy, however, aggravated the shortage of teachers, and allowed the state government the opportunity of blaming the Federation for the shortage of teachers. At the same time there existed a large army of unemployed teachers, and a glut of highly qualified teachers unable to find employment in the private schools. The result was a disastrous defeat for the militants in the ensuing Federation elections. The conclusion reached by the CPA majority group, however, was not that their defeat had resulted from the machinations of the opposition faction.

No communist can claim to have broken with Stalin while preserving a hostile attitude to Trotskyism. And instead of rejoicing over divisions in the Trotskyist movement it would be more appropriate for the CPA to give its support to those trends in the Trotskyist movement that represent the genuine interests of the international socialist movement. Future generations of revolutionaries will judge the reality of the CPA rejection of Stalinism on the basis of its attitude to Trotskyism and the building of an international bolshevik party worthy of being called, in Lenin's words, "the heart, the mind, and the conscience of our era".

Foreign Takeovers

by Jim McIlroy

The whole question of foreign ownership of industry in Australia is rapidly becoming a central political issue. The air is thick with the cries of wounded 'national capitalists', threatened with takeover by the multi-national giants (such as Frozen Foods, threatened by ITT). A wave of patriotism has developed carrying along the ALP, the DLP and now the Liberal Party (or one sector of it). Some people on the left think that the contradictions between international and national capital can be exploited to the benefit of the socialist movement, and that a section



A progressive, patriotic member of the bourgeoisie?

of the Australian Bourgeoisie is moving in a progressive and patriotic (sic) direction.

This whole question is a very complicated one, but we should be very wary of assuming that any such thing is occurring. The situation must be analysed very closely which cannot be done here. (For a fuller treatment see the article in *Socialist Review* Vol 2 No 2).

The basic question is that the Australian capitalist class with its relatively smaller scale and less competitive industry cannot withstand open competition from the larger imperialist centres, having grown up behind the protection of high tariff walls. Over the period since the war, foreign ownership has increased from 20% to about 35% of all industry, but it is in the years since 1966 that takeovers have increased dramatically. Some Australian capitalists have tied themselves very profitably to the shirt tails of foreign capital; others have developed independently. Some sections of the Australian bourgeoisie oppose foreign takeovers out of clear self interest, while others support it out of self interest. Whichever is the case, there is nothing progressive about it. While each section of the capitalist class will fight for its own special interests within the system, they are united in defence of the system as a whole against the working class.

The number one enemy of the Australian working class is the Australian bourgeoisie. The aim of the socialist movement must be to destroy capitalism in Australia and this means first and foremost weakening

the Australian bourgeoisie's grip on the social system of this country. Capitalism is not merely an economic system, but a political and cultural system as well. It must be attacked at its living heart, i.e. at the institutions which perpetuate capitalist social relationships. And a very important one of these is nationalism.

Australia is not an oppressed nation like Ireland or Bangladesh, Australian nationalism developed historically as the chauvinism of an imperialist outpost with its own interests allied with but distinct from those of the British and now U.S. monopolies. Strong evidence of the influence of chauvinism and racism on the working class movement in this country is provided in McQueen's book "A New Britannia", and by the outburst of that paragon of the old ALP, Arthur Calwell. Australian patriotism has always been a reactionary force — imperialist, militarist (e.g. the Anzac tradition), and racist-chauvinist (White Australia, attitudes to New Guinea and Australian Blacks). One of the paramount tasks of the socialist movement in this country is to combat Australian nationalism, and to foster internationalism — to develop a broad consciousness of solidarity with the international working class and the struggles of oppressed nations against their oppressions.

The nationalism of a Gorton or a St John is reactionary in the long run. In the name of national independence they will press for controls of foreign capital. We may even hear one day slogans about foreign imperialism from some of these gentlemen, but where do they stand on strikes by Australian workers? The national capitalists are just as ferocious, if not more so, in their attacks on the Labour Movement because the sections they represent are relatively weaker and less able to withstand the organised working class. They will attempt to ally themselves with the 'patriotic' forces in the ALP and elsewhere on the left, where their alliance is being actively promoted, only in order to strengthen the capitalist system in Australia by welding a national cross-class "harmony of interests". We may even soon find calls for tightening of belts (whose belts?) in defence of the nation (cf. Wilson in Britain).

A Labor government at the end of this year will probably take up the cudgels for national capital as part of its traditional role of integrating workers into a capitalist hegemony. Socialists will have to fight all class collaborationist schemes and press for a general working class attack on all the sections of the bourgeoisie. Workers have no particular interest in propping up unproductive industries, Australian owned or not. Neither do they have any interest in capitalist 'internationalism' which only strengthens the multi-national corporations. But slogans such as "U.S. out of Australia" and "Yankee go home" do not express the basic interests of Australian workers, who see no great difference between the exploitation of a U.S., Japanese or Australian boss. These slogans can easily evoke responses of national chauvinism, whatever the intentions of their promoters. As the crisis of imperialism deepens internationally, individuals amongst the Australian bourgeoisie will, as Marx explained come over to the working class movement. But this can only be on the terms of the working class, not by subordinating the working class movement to the terms of a national bourgeoisie with its own mini-imperialist ambitions.

Black Moratorium

A Moratorium for Black rights will be held on July 14, calling for people to stop work and occupy the streets outside Sydney Town Hall at 3.30pm to attend a rally and march. The main slogan will be "Ningla A-Na" — "We are hungry for our land". The black moratorium will demand:

1. Absolute ownership, including mineral and forestry rights of all reserves and traditional areas to be vested in the black communities associated with these areas.
2. Full compensation for all land seized since 1770.
3. The right and power of black communities to control their lives and land.
4. Support for all black struggles for:
 - (a) An immediate and massive Health Programme to eliminate infant mortality;
 - (b) Full employment on at least award wages;
 - (c) Decent housing and no evictions;
 - (d) Black studies and culture in education;
 - (e) Real equality of opportunity in education;
 - (f) An end to all discriminatory legislation (e.g., Queensland Act.)

STUDENT UNIONS ATTACKED

BY MILES STUART

This is the concluding part of an article on the recent events at La Trobe University, and the effects these events had on other campuses. The first part dealt with the background to the freezing of the La Trobe University SRC's funds, and the Supreme Court actions against members of the SRC. When this happened, Brian Pola (President of the SRC, and an expelled student), and Ian McDonald (Secretary) sought the financial assistance of other campuses.

The Students' Council at Macquarie convened a meeting of students on the front lawn to hear McDonald and Pola. The meeting voted in favour of providing La Trobe SRC with a gift of \$200 to pay legal costs and a loan of \$500 to allow the SRC to continue in operation. The meeting however was not a duly convened general meeting of students, and was therefore not authorised to make such a decision. The Students' Council was aware of this fact, and had merely asked the meeting to provide it with an indication of student opinion on the matter. This opinion would be borne in mind when the matter would come before the Students' Council meeting scheduled for that same night.

After the meeting of students the DLP types on campus swung into action. They contacted Ted O'Halloran, a friendly lawyer, and began preparing injunctions in consultation with their cronies in Melbourne and Peter Westmore, who appears to be the Sydney campus organiser for the NCC/DLP axis.

At the Students' Council meeting that night one of their number, Harrison, resorted to an outright lie to prevent the SC from endorsing the resolution carried

Two days after that (a Sunday) the defendants were presented with their injunctions by none other than Peter Westmore, who claimed to be an employee of O'Halloran (he is in fact a postgraduate student in aeronautical engineering at Sydney University).

The defendants appeared in court the following morning to contest the case. After three days of tortuous legal arguments, the judge ruled in favour of the defendants with respect to the gift of \$200 to pay legal costs incurred by La Trobe SRC, but against the loan of \$500 for operating costs.

This decision was an important victory for student unionism in Australia, and one which will undoubtedly have repercussions elsewhere. The judge begrudgingly said that it was "by no means clear that the payment of La Trobe SRC's court costs by Macquarie SC) is not a matter tending to promote the interests of students at Macquarie University."

The constitution of Macquarie University Students' Council states that one of the aims of the SC is to promote the welfare, and take up matters tending to promote the interests of, the students of Macquarie University. And the judge said that it could be argued that to pay La Trobe SRC's court costs was in the interests of the students of Macquarie University.

The significance of this ruling should not be lost: Macquarie University Students' Council won from the capitalist courts what it could not have won from any Vice-Chancellor in Australia: the recognition of the fact that what goes on at one campus can affect the interests of another campus. To members of trade unions and internationalists this point seems too elementary to require stating, but it took a legal battle to have it accepted by

struggle. "Moderate" members of the SRC appear to be growing a little tired of confrontationist politics, and the left appears to have run out of ideas to spring on another burst of activity, without leaving the masses behind.

The central issues discussed in this article appear to have been lost in the confusion over the past few months. Where the radical leaderships have been able to come to task with the central issues, successes have been recorded. But too many irrelevant intrusions have tended to divert student support. On other occasions initial successes have been allowed to founder through lack of any perspective on the part of the leadership. The latest occupation at La Trobe was a sorry example of lost opportunities. (See Darryl Hillgrove's article in DIRECT ACTION No. 17.)

In the same month that the Macquarie Students' Council was gaining ground over the administration through the Supreme Court of New South Wales, the students they were supposed to be supporting were issuing "gallant" statements of defiance in the Supreme Court of Victoria, informing the court that "its interference in the affairs of students... cannot survive the struggle of Australian workers, working people, and other patriotic (sic) social forces to free Australia from foreign domination and to create a truly independent Australia and within that a University that will serve the majority of people."

Further on: "Students and workers throughout Australia hold this court in complete and utter contempt."

Although this sort of rhetoric sounds all very nice, it is probably fortunate that only a handful of Maoists believe that any more than a few Australian workers and "patriotic social forces" (read :

students and the neo-fascist elements around the DLP/NCC/Peace with Freedom troika. They thus ignore the close relationship between capitalism itself and the embryonic fascist movements which are largely ineffective during periods of relative bourgeois democracy, and which only tend to gain ascendancy when the combativity of the working class requires sterner measures, such measures being determined by the capitalist class itself and not by the minority fascist groupings. (In fact, in this period, most university administrations would be extremely reluctant to publicly associate themselves with the DLP in any assault on student democracy. They would probably do their utmost to isolate such forces, even though the neo-fascists would be clamouring to jump on the bandwagon.)

Another unfortunate aspect of the campaign by the "moderates" has been their portrayal of the students associated with the DLP/NCC as an 'outside, off-campus, largely non-student, secretly-financed, secretly-organised organisation. If we examine this line of argument closer, we discover that it is merely red-baiting in reverse, and reflects the sort of insularity and campus chauvinism that has been used successfully time and time again against radical groups on campus. In the eyes of the "moderates", the DLP is the enemy because it is secret and off-campus, not because it is neo-fascist and anti-democratic.

This argument plays right into the hands of those who would have the students of say, Macquarie, believe that the affairs of the students at La Trobe should be none of their concern, and more than this, that the affairs of the community as a whole have nothing to do with the students of universities. Conversely, the acceptance of this line of argument by the students would be a strong barrier to the acceptance of the concept that the working class has a right, and should be encouraged, to take a greater interest in the educational, social and political activities of the university.

Such a line of argument should be opposed by all revolutionaries. Capitalism maintains its dominant position by this very process of engendering elitism and insularity amongst sectors of society, and the ivy league atmosphere of the university may well be one of the strongest parts of this superstructure. Those who struggle for socialism must of necessity struggle against bourgeois hegemony in all sectors of society, and those who struggle for democratic demands in the universities must be made aware that these demands will not acquire their full stature unless they are spread across the whole community.

It appears that the final result of this curious amalgam of ultra-left rhetoric and insular reformism has been the (at least temporary) consolidation of the reformists into the strongest force across campuses, a force which will not be of sufficient strength (nor inclination) to fight the onslaught of the real enemy, the administration, which has not yet started. Nor has the DLP been defeated on political terms - it's too much to expect bourgeois reformists to expose what is in essence their right flank. Nowhere has the inter-relationship between the capitalist system and university administration been exposed or brought into question. Although such an achievement could by no means have been inevitable, it is a measure of the weakness of the left at the present time that the political level of the masses does not appear to have been advanced much at all.

It is hoped that the left will be able to draw the lessons of the last few months and prepare the student masses for the time when the real battle starts. When the stakes are so high, we can't expect Australian capitalism to leave the fight in the hands of a few DLP lunatics.



General meeting of La Trobe students divides over the occupation motion university administrations.

by the meeting of students. Rather than be intimidated by this stratagem, the SC took the bit between its teeth and resolved to put the matter before a further duly convened general meeting of students, and to invite Pola, McDonald and Sullivan to address the meeting. Speakers for the proposal argued that it was politically important for the largest possible number of students of the university to participate in the making of such a decision. At that stage, because the front lawn meeting had been hastily convened and therefore rather small, the political importance of an SC decision to provide financial assistance would be lost. It therefore was incumbent upon the SC to mount a full campaign around the issue, thereby defeating the DLP and other conservative forces in a definitive fashion, rather than shunting the decision through a Council meeting.

Notice was then given of a general meeting of students to be convened the following week. Two days later, the SC Executive received informal notice of a Supreme Court injunction granted in favour of Stephen Patrick Harrison and James Gerrard Soorley against the Executive and the SC Administrative Officer.

The general meeting of students was adjourned for another week pending the outcome of the court case. When it was finally held, a record attendance voted 390 to 350 to provide the \$200 to La Trobe SRC, despite a very well organised Christian and DLP lobby as against a poorly organised attendance on the part of the radicals. Whilst this vote was also a significant victory, the large contrary vote indicated that perhaps the struggle had only just started. But there was no doubt that the court decision and the vote at Macquarie had delivered a severe blow to the DLP ambitions of stifling campus radicalism. Threats of injunctions against the SRCs of N.S.W., Sydney, Melbourne, and Monash Universities (to name a few) were gradually withdrawn.

But things weren't so rosy at La Trobe. As was inevitable, Pola was forced to renounce his claim to membership of the SRC. He and three other students have been barred by the court from appearing on campus as a result of another occupation, the administration has disarmed criticism by unfreezing SRC funds, thereby further isolating those students who led the

HOBART STUDENTS FIGHT THE ROAD

For years, one of the focal points of student politics in Hobart has been the construction of a public road through the university grounds. When a student was injured by a passing car a few years ago, a protest brought promises of either an over-pass or an under-pass from the Government. This has never been built despite several subsequent accidents. Students, of late, have begun to organise around this issue, but the struggle has lacked a leadership which could mobilise large numbers of students in effective political action.

SIVRAR (Students in Violent Revolt Against the Road) was formed upon the initiative of various anarchist and spontaneist forces, and a party was planned on the road with free beer, etc. The mass of students did not take part in the obstruction of the road but sat on the grass and watched. Meanwhile, the protestors placed desks, construction and detour signs, etc., on the road, successfully diverting all traffic around the university for a short time.

However, when the police arrived to

move the twenty to thirty demonstrators on, the students on the grass swarmed down to the road, some out of curiosity, some to join the students in the ensuing confrontation with the cops. The original demonstrators then decided to sit down on the road... where upon the police arrested seven people... But, these people were not arrested at random. The police came to the demonstration with photos of certain radical individuals - and these were the people who were arrested, no matter what the charge. An hour or so passed, and the students

began to drift away, until at 4p.m. both the police and the students left.

SYA, while having reservations about the way in which the action was organized and the tactics used, demands that all charges made at the demonstration should be dropped.

In order to run a successful campaign of this sort, it is necessary to build previous mass support for the issue within the University and to press for actions which minimize confrontations with the police.

BHUTTO AND GANDHI SET SUMMIT TALKS

Pakistani President Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi are preparing to try to put the pieces of the fragmented subcontinent back together again. On April 25 a 17 member Indian advance party arrived in Islamabad to negotiate an agenda for a Bhutto-Gandhi summit conference that is scheduled to take place in May or June.

The ostentatious backslapping routine indulged in by the advance delegations reflects adequately enough the mutual desire of the Pakistani and Indian ruling classes to reach some long term accommodation that can initiate a new, stable political alignment in the subcontinent. At the same time however, the bilateral goodwill-and-progress declarations sound somewhat hollow.

The Indian side insists that it is negotiating a long term comprehensive agreement - one that would encompass (at least) the questions of Kashmir and Bangla Desh. The Pakistanis are more concerned with "immediate" questions, the major ones being the 70,000 to 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war still held by the Indian army since the Pakistani surrender in Bangla Desh last December. The Indian government insists that the Bangla Desh regime must be involved in any negotiations on the subject of the POW's. However a stalemate has been reached here since both Pakistan and Bangla Desh's Mujibur Rahman insist on different and mutually disagreeable pre-conditions for talks.

USSR: KREMLIN PREPARES SHOW TRIALS IN UKRAINE

Preparations for the trials of the dissidents arrested in the mid January KGB (secret police) raids in the Ukraine are being carried out in an atmosphere reminiscent of Stalinist terror in the 1930's, according to reports emanating from dissident circles in the Ukraine. Those arrested have been denounced by official propaganda as "agents of foreign imperialism", "traitors to the fatherland" and by other familiar denigrations. Evidence suggests that the dissidents will be tried in groups, rather than as individuals, in a series of show trials. The January arrests total approximately 100.

The Soviet bureaucracy, unrelenting in its use of repression against what it rightly judges to be an ever growing circle of persistent opposition, has ordered another series of raids in the Ukraine.

GREECE: FIRST STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS SINCE 1967

The fifth anniversary of the coup d'etat by the Greek colonels was marked in Athens on April 21 with the first student protest demonstration since 1967. Approximately one hundred students chanted "Long Live Democracy" and sang the Greek national anthem in downtown Athens.

The demonstration was broken up by some 200 policemen, who claimed the protestors were singing forbidden songs. At least 15 persons were arrested. Among them was the vice president of the previous parliament, Jakovos Diamantopoulos, who was brutally hit on the head by police. He was released several hours later.

According to an Agence France Press despatch from Athens, leaflets were distributed there on April 20 and 21. They were signed "Front of Anti-Dictatorial Organisations".

In addition, several student strikes and marches have taken place over various basic issues relating to university administration and student rights. Petitions demanding elections in student bodies are circulating and have been signed by hundreds of students.

GROWING WORKER AND STUDENT STRUGGLES IN SPAIN

An interview by the French Ligue Communiste with a leader of the Spanish Liga Comunista Revolucionaria reveals that there is increasing worker and student unrest which could eventually lead towards decisively intensifying the crisis of the Franco regime.

There have been various strikes and workers have been organising in a self-defensive manner to counteract the repressive policies and actions of the Franco regime.

THE WORLD



REVOLUTION

Student struggles are also gaining in size and organisation, and according to the person interviewed, the student movement is attaining a power and political level far superior to its best days in 1969.

WAS LIN PIAO INVOLVED IN A PLOT TO SEIZE POWER?

New questions have been raised about the disappearance of Lin Piao, Mao Tse Tung's previous heir prior to his supposed death in a mysterious plane crash on September 12 1971. Contrary to this original report, a top Chinese official stated on February 10 that Lin was not dead, but had only been politically eliminated.

A contributor to the Paris paper, Le Monde, who is reported to have visited China, offers a political explanation for Lin's sudden fall from power. According to the contributor, Jaap Van Ginnekin, Lin Piao's demise hinged on the fact that he supported "ultra left" tendencies in the cultural revolution. The lateness of this demise is attributed to the fact that higher echelon leaders who supported the "ultra leftist" moves in the cultural revolution were able to entrench and conceal themselves in high positions, i.e., at the Ninth Congress, and the blame ultimately lay at this level.

However Van Ginnekin's version of Lin Piao's disgrace has a certain air of being made up after the fact. How could a leader fall because of a defeat that happened two years before he attained the summit of power, with his right to absolute power guaranteed by the constitution itself?

Perhaps Peking is pushing this version for reasons of its own. If so, the political meaning of this move may soon become clear.

SECRET REINFORCEMENTS

In early May 2,500 US soldiers were sent to Vietnam from the base of Clark in the Philippines. For the most part they are attached to the 405th Squadron of fighter-bombers. Because they are classified as on "temporary duty" they do not count in the number of US troops in Vietnam. Similarly, several thousand infantrymen have left Okinawa by sea bound for Vietnam, also not to be counted in troop totals. Most ominous is the recent transfer of 900 pilots from Japan to Thailand - their training at the base of Yokota included the handling of nuclear weapons.

Another Pentagon trick is to shift the "mix" of combat and support troops in Vietnam, while keeping the announced total within the limit set by President Nixon. Thus on May 5 the Defense Department conceded that two Marine battalions, 5,000 men in all, might be sent back to Vietnam, but quickly added that the total number of troops in Vietnam would not increase, and that the soldiers would only be used for "protective" operations - presumably in the same sense as the "protective reaction" of bombing the north.

MASS PRESSURE PUTS SPRING BOK TOUR IN DOUBT

A tour of New Zealand by the South African rugby team seems certain to be cancelled due to widespread opposition to the racist policies of the South African government. The Federation of Labour has agreed to support unions which refuse to supply services to the team. Public support for the tour has dropped in recent months from 68% to 47%.

IRELAND: WIDGERY VERDICT: IRISH SHOULD AVOID BRITISH BULLETS

"I went to my front window and saw a youth fall at Glenfada Park - his head was on the kerb and his body on the street. He moved slightly and just as I was going out to him more shots rang out; the youth's body jerked and lay still... a youth in blue denim ran with his hands above his head toward the wounded youth, he fell shot beside this youth. He also moved and the soldier shot twice at him again... These three youths died". (Statement of William Reilly to the Derry Civil Rights investigating committee).

The above quote illustrates the true reality of the massacre of 13 civil rights marchers in Derry City, Northern Ireland, on January 31 1972.

In view of the international outcry over the shootings in Derry, the British government set up a special investigating Tribunal. To head this body, it named its most honoured jurist, Lord Widgery, the Lord Chief Justice of England.

On April 19 he gave his verdict on the cause of the massacre, and to judge from this verdict, the blame for the shootings rested on the leaders of the 30,000 people who had asserted their democratic right to demonstrate on January 31 in Derry.

The deliberate intent of the massacre however, was entirely clear even without the testimony of the paratrooper, Peter McMullan who fled to the formally independent part of Ireland because his unit had been given orders well in advance to stage the slaughter.

The shameless whitewash of the Derry murders shows that the British government still intends to beat the nationalist population into submission by brute force. It is not prepared to negotiate with any section of the nationalist community except on the basis of "military victory".

In a challenge to British secretary of State for Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw, the official Irish Republican Clubs held an open conference in Belfast on April 23. Attended by 300 people, the meeting was held only yards from the Hastings Street police post.

The Republican Clubs are illegal under the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act. By moving to open political activity the republicans hope to force Whitelaw either to enact the ban or to recognise them as a legitimate political movement. The republicans have functioned only underground since August 1971, when internment without trial was introduced in Northern Ireland. Neither the army nor the police made any attempt to prevent the conference from taking place, Martin Cowley reported in the April 24 Irish Times.

INDONESIA: 10,000 WITHOUT HOPE IN JUNGLE PRISON

An article in the conservative The Asia Magazine by Dom Moraes reveals the existence of a political prison camp set up by the Suharto regime, in which are detained 10,000 political prisoners from the 1965 aftermath of the right wing military coup. The camp is set deep in the jungle, many miles from the nearest civilisation and in the middle of a malarial mosquito infested area. Very few of the prisoners have any foreseeable prospect of being released since it takes a minimum of two years before the authorities might take it upon themselves to be convinced that a prisoner has recanted former convictions. So far no one has been released in this way.

Given the political outlook of the reporter and the magazine, one wonders whether there are not far worse repressive acts and institutions in Indonesia at this time.

SURPRISE

The latest issue of 'Indochina', a magazine published in London, reports that a Madame Thieu and her children have already arrived in Switzerland.

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MAY DAY 1972

Throughout the world each year on May Day, the revolutionary working class and its allies give expression to their struggle against exploitation and oppression, and to their indomitable impulse towards socialism. In Australia, this year's May Day platforms were everywhere dominated by the dead hands of historically bankrupt social democratic and Stalinist reformism. In Brisbane, ALP and trade union bureaucrats dominated the day; in Sydney it was the Moscow-line Stalinists of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA); in Melbourne it was the Maoists (i.e. Peking-line Stalinists). What a sad contrast between the tumultuous times we are living through, when social contradictions insistently demand an answer and the discredited (by history, but not yet unfortunately, in the eyes of the masses) narrow minded, philistine leadership of the working class who everywhere crowded the May Day platforms. These people will never lead the working class and the rebellious youth anywhere, except to defeat and despair.

It is necessary to build a new leadership which can show the working class and the oppressed the way forward. A modest start has been made, but there is a way to go yet...

BRISBANE (Bernard Paessler)

Here the ALP leadership controlled May Day to the extent that all the socialist groups were refused "official recognition". Brisbane is inundated with ALP people at this time of the year and it is no wonder, for this must be the only city where these Labor fakers can play their peculiar brand of "clan politics" with apparent immunity from the revolutionary left; where the leaders of the march - Whitlam, Hawke and Co. - are themselves led by costumed, mounted police.

This year's May Day march was the largest for some time. This no doubt indicates the widespread dissatisfaction with the present government and the sensing by ALP supporters of a victory in the coming State and Federal elections.

At the rally which followed the march, half a dozen union bureaucrats including Hawke, Egerton (Queensland's "opposition" leader), Houston and of course, Gough Whitlam, managed to monopolise the speakers' platform. Whitlam told of the "reform to come" like improved housing for blacks, an ALP health scheme, a better system for dealing with Queensland cyclones etc. Mr. Egerton observed that Mr. Whitlam had "a warm spot in his heart for Queensland". To us, at

least, that's obvious.

SYA members distributed a leaflet which included an article entitled "Towards a Labor Government" which warned that the ALP will be incapable, and is in fact, unwilling to stem the bosses' offensive against the gains won by the working class in decades of struggle.

Those who marched in this carnival among the floats, people dressed up as devils, Donald Ducks, beauty queens etc., will receive a rude shock on the advent of an ALP government. In the not too distant future these labour fakers will not be so readily accepted in Queensland.

SYDNEY (Dave Holmes)

May Day in Sydney is organised by the SPA Stalinists. They set the tone for the occasion: Hawke spoke as the major attraction of the Domain rally; despite the protests of the women's liberation movement they held a "May Day Queen" competition; this was the limit of conscious political program pushed by the organisers of the Socialist Party of Australia.

The Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance recorded a significant increase in their contingent this year with close to 100 marchers.

The number of marchers was several thousands this year and a very large crowd heard Hawke at the rally. He spoke of the need to defeat the Liberal government and how an ALP government would solve the problem of the masses (what is needed however, is not a change of management but a new firm). Neither Hawke nor anyone else on the platform spoke of the need to build actions against the imperialist war in Vietnam; of the need to mobilise women against their oppression; of the need to support blacks in their fight for self-determination; of how to fight the offensive of the employers against the working class - all that is another world for social democratic and Stalinist reformists.

Let us hope that next year Sydney May Day more accurately reflects the real needs of the masses and world wide struggle for socialism.

MELBOURNE (Jamie Doughney)

To revolutionary socialists, the May Day celebration is an important occasion in that it represents the spirit of the revolutionary internationalism of the working class, of which we are rightfully proud. So it is understandable that the tone of this May Day - its obviously chauvinistic national emphasis and its rehash of Stalinist slanders against Trotskyism -

gave us great cause for concern.

The march of about 10,000 people led to the Trades Hall and proceeded through the city to the Yarra bank where the speaking platform was established. For the first time in the history of May Day the march was presented with a Trotskyist on the official stump (a rather anomalous situation considering the preceding events in the Melbourne May Day Committee). When a Ceylonese Fourth Internationalist - Jaya Vitharana - addressed the rally, a sign was given of the ambitious advancement of Trotskyism on a world scale, expressed in Australia through the development of the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance, who were able to amass a sizeable contingent behind the slogan "Forward to the World October". Comrade Jaya spoke of the widely neglected principles of proletarian internationalism which have been maligned in the theory and practice of the Fourth International.

The Trotskyist contingent significantly carried as its main banners, paintings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky underscored by the slogans, "Workers of the World Unite" "In its Struggle for Power the Proletariat has no other Weapon but Organisation", and "Forward to the World October" respectively. To us these gave expression to the basic tenets of revolutionary socialism, a tradition so easily obscured or trampled upon by reformism and Stalinism.

However, behind the many red flags and ultra-left rhetoric of the "leading bodies" and other participants in the march, there was a chauvinist class collaborationism. Slogans such as "Yankee Go Home" and "End US Domination of Australia", revealed that Australian patriotism was rife among Melbourne's May Day affiliates and particularly the Maoists who dominated the committee.

What these chauvinists are advocating is a bloc of the Australian workers with their local exploiters against their overseas exploiters. How clever! That socialism is against exploitation in general they seem to have forgotten!

Summing up this year's experience, it is obvious how much further the May Day celebration needs to advance. The march was clearly lacking in trade union and particularly rank and file worker participation. Only when this is achieved with the participation of oppressed sectors of society, will we have a May Day worthy of its great aim.



Above top & below: Sydney; B Above: Melbourne.

